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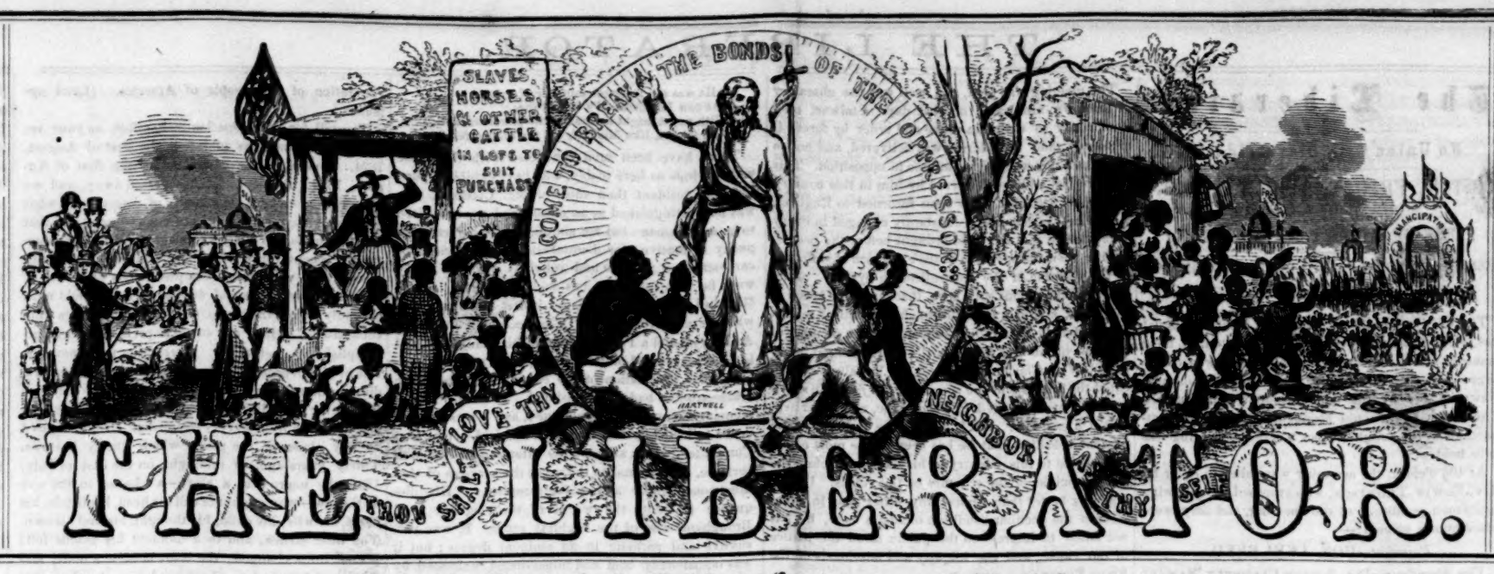

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

HOW THE REBELS VIEW IT.

"NORTHERN DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION."

"This Convention (to nominate a candidate for President and Vice President of the so called United States,) will not assemble at Chicago until the 29th of August next. It is thought that through the influence of Vallandigham, the postponement of the meeting of that body till so late a day has been effected. His return into Ohio has certainly caused great commotion, and that he will exercise great influence over the deliberations of that body, no one can doubt. The *policy* that dictates a postponement of the Convention until so late a day in August next is, in our judgment, if we do not mistake it, a wise one. *The Democratic peace party in the North and West are well aware that Lincoln's defeat depends upon the defeat of his butcher, Grant.* Upon this they look as confidently as we do, time only being all that is required for bringing about so important a result.

The defeat, in fact, of either Grant or Sherman will suffice to defeat Lincoln. Either event will give double strength to the Democratic Peace Party, and they will proceed to nominate their candidates with a boldness in the assertion of their principles, and a confidence in their success, such as have not been manifested since the war commenced. Daily the confidence of the Lincolnites is declining. Wall street has become alarmed. Capitalists have become frightened. Gold is rising, and greenbacks are fast becoming mere trash. The only salvation of the North from general bankruptcy is in peace. The only salvation for Lincoln and his satellites is in a continuance of the war. The contest will be a fearful one. We predict that great civil commotion will attend, if blood do not flow from it. *The leaders of the Democracy, or peace party, are and will be defiant.* They will not be put down by force of arms, or they will prove themselves cowards. They will not permit their presses to be suppressed, or they will belie their pledges. They will not permit Vallandigham to be imprisoned, or they will falsify their words.

Gov. Seymour, of New York, has already proclaimed that he will not permit the press of that State to be seized and silenced. If he will stand up to this pledge of his, the Democratic press of the North, and especially of New York, will open upon the tyrant such a warfare as will make him and his supporters quail before the masses of the people, and tremble before the retribution they will invoke upon his head. *But success in all efforts to defeat the despot depends upon the defeat of Grant or Sherman.* We are confident that at least one of these two events will soon take place. The other must speedily follow. *And then the Democratic Peace Convention will nominate their own candidate, and woe to the bloody tyrant!* In a few weeks, perhaps in a few days, events will occur which will ensure an end to this horrid and bloody war. At least we confidently hope so.—*Atlanta Intelligencer.*

THE ULTRAISTS AND PEACE.

The ultraists, of both extremes, talk about the same language in reference to the Union, the Constitution, and the duration of the war. Thus, for years, they have been hostile to the old union of Free States and Slave States; affirming that it was impossible for it to continue thus, and that the Union must either be all free or all slave. Again—they talk about the same as to the Constitution. The Secessionists at the South say that it is destroyed, and this is what the Abolitionists of the North say, as, every day, they express scorn of being bound by its provisions. Once more, they talk alike as to the duration of the war. Thus Sumner, Garrison, and the supporters of Lincoln generally, look upon the work ahead as something of a permanent character—as some of them say, *a thirty years' war.* Jefferson Davis is reported to have expressed this idea in an original way. On being asked when he thought the war would end, he put his hand on the head of a child five years old, and said—"Not till this child is an old man." It is not easy to see how the war *can* end unless Lincoln be displaced from power, and the Lincoln programme be abandoned. Peace is well-nigh impossible by a divided country; and the boy five years old, will indeed be an old man ere he sees two Unions—a North and a South; for everything in the shape of geographical features, local customs and prejudices, and material interests, points to *more* than two Unions, if there be more than one. Peace is still more impracticable on the basis of the territorial programme set forth by the Administration. This is impossible. Officers and privates who come from the front freely say that it is not possible to conquer the South to a Massachusetts way of thinking as to local affairs. Hence, with the incubus of Abraham Lincoln on the country, not only is—in Dr. Brownson's words—a restoration of the Union and a maintenance of the national integrity impossible, but there is a certainty of nothing but war.

Will not this line of talk of the ultraists serve to open the eyes of candid, intelligent and patriotic men who love their country? The first and only safe step is to install an Administration who have faith in Peace on the basis of the Constitution and the Union.—*Boston Post.*

THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE.

The mass of the people, South and North, and East and West, *want peace on the basis of the Union and the Constitution.* What this people want so generally, they will find out a way to *have.* In God's name shall a ONE MAN power or a mere *party* power, in this republican land, defeat so noble and holy a purpose? Think of the desolation of heart there is by reason of war; think of the monstrous corruption the war naturally breeds; think of the men called for and the money needed, and the taxes and loans; and is it to be tolerated that the reckless Abolitionists whom Thurlow Weed describes, are to command President Lincoln to go outside the Constitution and the law to get an impassable barrier to peace?

What is this barrier? Simply the dogma that there cannot be a union of Slave States and Free States! An old electioneering pretext! Put forth to-day, when President Lincoln is called on by every consideration of humanity and duty to rise above party, and serve the *whole country.* His course ought to be considered long and well. He puts as the basis of peace "*the abandonment of slavery.*" On other points he is flexible. On this point he is rigid. This condition involves the radical change by States of a million of white population of their social system. It involves a new Union. It is revolutionary. It involves eternal war! This is the solemn truth for the people to consider. What authority has Mr. Lincoln to make such a condition an ultimatum? He is sworn to a faithful execution of the laws. He has the way pointed out in the law to deal with those in arms against the authority of the United States. Instead of following these laws, he elevates an old partisan theory above them, viz.: the theory that these States must be all either Slave States or Free States, in the face of the wonderful prosperity of the old Union. Thus he imposes an impassable barrier to the immense result of peace.

Such is precisely the way this tremendous question of peace stands. Well may Dr. Brownson say, that with Abraham Lincoln for President, the restoration of the Union and the maintenance of the national integrity are impossible. We believe the people, irrespective of party, mean to have the Union, the Constitution, one Country, and one Flag. They can, assuredly, have all this and the priceless blessings of peace. But they cannot have them with Mr. Lincoln for their President.—*Boston Post.*

ANDY JOHNSON'S LAST LEAP.

Like Sam Patch, he has taken his last leap, and landed plump in "Abraham's bosom."

No candid person of any party can read Mr. Johnson's letter of acceptance, without feeling an emotion akin to contempt for the man who can so unblushingly turn his back upon his own antecedents; so impudently ignore and falsify his whole political record. Who would have believed such a metamorphosis possible? Andy Johnson, once the sternest denunciator of Abolitionism and staunchest advocate of the ultra State Rights' doctrine, now become the very lick-spittle of the Sumner and Greeley school of negrophilists and the champion of consolidation! And yet this newly adopted member of the Radical Republican family would have his countrymen believe that his opinions have undergone no change, that he stands where he has always stood in regard to the great questions of the day; and amid a mass of hypocritical twaddle, in which he prates of principle, while re-hashing the sentiments of the Abolition press and leaders of the country, he appeals in evidence to his original opposition to the secession movement in the United States Senate.

Andrew Johnson, who boasts of his adherence to principle and devotion to the Union cause, stands convicted and *particeps criminis* by his own confession in this very letter of acceptance of that suicidal policy which, by exalting the cause of anti-slavery above the cause of the Union, and perverting the object of the war, has united the South and divided the North, given strength and prestige to the rebellion, and, to use the language of one of his own party, Mr. Weed, "has doubled the millions of dollars and deepened the rivers of blood spent and shed in a war which, so long as Abolition influences and counsels sway the Government, promises nothing but interminable conflict or an inglorious termination."

The Democracy of the North stood by Mr. Johnson while he stood by the Constitution as the basis of a restored Union. But now, when he hypocritically appeals to them by the familiar title of "old friends," as he does in this letter, to come forward and vindicate their devotion to principle and "true Democratic policy," by sustaining this unprincipled Administration, and deprecates any division in the Union sentiment of the country—while at the same time he intimates that there can be no such union and coöperation except upon the Abolition platform, and by a deliberate repudiation of the compromises of the Constitution—his impudence becomes insufferable, and is equalled only by his mendacity.—*Boston Post.*

☞ While the people of the North are still ready to furnish means and men to put down *rebellion*, they demand of the President as a just right that he place the control of the affairs of the nation in the hands of competent men. "Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting," is written against the name of every member of the Cabinet, excepting only Mr. Fessenden. How ready the people were to acquiesce in the nomination of the latter gentleman must convince him (Mr. Lincoln) that the people are not opposed to the President so much as to the men and means he employs.—*Boston Post.*

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE.

We publish to-day the President's proclamation, calling for five hundred thousand more men to wage the Abolition war. No one will be startled. The people have been driven to that condition of recklessness that ignores all emotion. We are all automatons, without volition, without self-agency, without apparent consciousness of present misfortune or threatened danger. But one man at Washington touches the springs, and the automatons perform. They follow the fife and drum; they march to the battle-field; they are swept down by shot and shell; they are tumbled into graves or crowded into hospitals, and then five hundred thousand more puppets are brought upon the scene, and the tragedy goes on.

Mr. Lincoln's craving increases with gorging. The herd of bullocks bargained for in the present call exceeds in number all those heretofore marked for the sha.. .es. Five hundred thousand additional victims of fanaticism, in the fourth year of the war, and with our valleys already studded with graves, our hospitals filled with invalids, and our streets with limbless men—the thought demands that we should be hardened to calamity, or human nature would revolt. Five hundred thousand more workingmen to be taken from the loom, the anvil, the plow, the various implements that create a nation's strength! Five hundred thousand more to be drained from the channels of industry, where their presence is essential to supply the absolute wants of trade, and to give food to the millions. Five hundred thousand more to be torn from their peaceable homes, from the arms of their wives and children, who will be left without protectors to beg, or starve, or search for daily bread in the abodes of vice. Five hundred thousand more, whose immolation will swell the list of orphans and widows, whose lamentations already appeal to heaven, and assail the earth with the voices of woe. Many a heart will shrink with foreboding this morning as the eye glances over the cold and pitiless language of that proclamation. Many a father and husband will look anxiously around at the inquiring faces of his loved ones clustering around the frugal board. How long will be be permitted to commune with them in the brief hours of respite from his daily toil? For the summer, the delights of home, for the autumn the terrors of battle, for the winter, perhaps, the unmarked grave. Meanwhile the sound of revelry at Washington mingles with the roar of cannon, the shrieks of the dying, and the sobs of the bereaved. Why should the jester mourn with the afflicted, when his parasites are laughing at his ribald jokes? Weep on, mothers and wives and daughters of our land; march on and perish, fathers and brothers and sons; count your hoards, you traffickers in blood; weave at the looms of your ambition, you aspiring demagogues, the balance of justice is in the hands of God, and at last will find its level.—*N. Y. Daily News.*

Selections.

TWELVE YEARS IN A KENTUCKY PRISON.

Some weeks ago, it was announced that Lieut. Gov. Jacobs, of Kentucky, had pardoned the Rev. Calvin Fairbanks out of the Penitentiary of that State, during the temporary absence of Gov. Bramlette. A correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, who has recently had an interview with Mr. Fairbank, gives the following interesting narrative:—

"In November, 1851, the Rev. Mr. Fairbank was in Louisville on business connected with the Oberlin (Ohio) Institute, and while there was made acquainted with the case of a young slave girl, nearly white, who was endeavoring to escape to the Free States. She was the property of one A. L. Shortwell, of Louisville, and was named Tamar. The story she related to Mr. Fairbank, though such as thousands in her condition could truly relate, so worked on his feelings, and so aroused his sympathies and indignation, that he determined to render her escape certain. On the night of Nov. 2, they crossed the Ohio from Louisville to Jeffersonville, Indiana. The girl secreted herself in a field, while he went in pursuit of a horse and buggy.

Before daylight he got her, cold and benumbed, into the buggy, and that day (Nov. 3) drove thirty-four miles into Indiana, placed her among friends, and himself returned with the horse and buggy to Jeffersonville, where he remained about a week. On his way to church the following Sunday, he was assaulted and seized by William Ronald, then Marshal of Louisville, Ky., (now Sheriff,) and one Stamlette, a watchman, assisted by said Shortwell; and thus kidnapped, he was taken by force from Indiana into Kentucky. He was thrown into prison in Louisville, where he lay about five months awaiting trial, bail being required in the sum of $5,000, which he of course was unable to procure in that State.

On the 25th of February, 1852, Mr. Fairbank was arraigned for trial. Although no direct evidence was offered, and nothing but the slightest circumstantial evidence given, such as his being seen in Louisville on the night the girl escaped, still being determined to punish him under the slave laws, they convicted him under the statute relating to enticing slaves, and he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. During the time of his imprisonment, he was subjected to the most brutal, wicked and inhuman treatment possible. When he first entered the prison, the profits arising from the labor of the prisoners were divided between the State and the warden or prison contractor. Each prisoner was required to perform an allotted amount of work, which was equal to what a strong, well man could do, at the utmost exertion of his strength and endurance.

Mr. Fairbank's strength and health soon failed him, and he was utterly incapable of performing his tasks. Then commenced the horrible brutality to which he was subjected. He was put at the hardest, dirtiest work, and orders were given by Newton Craig, the then Warden, to 'kill him.' The insulting language constantly addressed to him, the hated tones of voice, and insolent and abusive manner, to say nothing of the many horrible oaths directed to him, were enough to prostrate a man of his refined and sensitive mind. But all this was as nothing compared to the horrible whippings inflicted upon his naked person! Forced to lean forward over a stool, chair, or bench, he was made to strip, and then with a sole-leather strap eighteen inches in length, two inches wide, and about three-eighths of an inch thick, soaked in water, and fastened to a handle about two feet long, he was flogged sometimes daily, sometimes four times a day, for not performing a heavier task than it was possible for him to do in his state of health. He was given from twenty to one hundred and seven lashes at a time.

Sometimes he would escape a flogging for a month, and once six months passed off without his being whipped. During the time he was imprisoned, he was brutally flogged more than one thousand times, because he had not fulfilled, through weakness and exhaustion, the task imposed upon him. On one occasion during the last winter, a keeper named Whiteside, and the only humane man connected with the prison management, had directed Mr. Fairbank to cord up a lot of wood. While doing this, an under keeper named Jeffries came along, and asked Mr. Fairbank roughly what he was doing that for. Mr. Fairbank replied that he was doing it by order of Mr. Whiteside. Jeffries ordered him not to cord up any more wood, and Mr. Fairbank replied that he must do as directed by the officer highest in authority. Jeffries in a rage seized a stick of wood, and struck Mr. Fairbank over the temple a blow that cut to the skull, knocking him blind and senseless, and which placed him in the prison hospital for several weeks, and from which, owing to the shock to the brain, as in the case of the assault upon Senator Sumner by 'Bully' Brooks, he has not yet fully recovered. How many times the heart of the poor prisoner sunk within him; how many times he prayed earnestly that death might end his sufferings; how he was kept alive, and was permitted to hope on, is known only to his God. Yet it is a great wonder how the mind could have been preserved from utter wreck and ruin; how it was that insanity did not deprive him long since of all consciousness of the cruel wrongs he was obliged to suffer and endure.

But have we not the explanation in the knowledge that he surely possessed, that there was a loving and devoted heart, made all the more loving, devoted and constant by his civil bondage and the horrors to which he was subjected? Was it not that he knew, or had faith to believe, that her efforts in his behalf would never cease? And that he owed it to her, if not to himself, to endeavor to bear with Christian patience and manly fortitude the grievous afflictions which he was compelled to experience?

At the time of the imprisonment of the Rev. Mr. Fairbank, he was engaged to be married to Miss Mandona Tileston, of Williamsburg, Mass., a young lady of rare personal attractions and mental endowments. And the qualities both of heart and mind which this estimable lady possessed will be illustrated by stating that during all the time of his imprisonment, (from November, 1851, to April, 1864,) Mr. Fairbank was the one particular object of her thoughts, and all her devoted affections. Her loving, cheerful, and hopeful letters were as the staff of life to him. Though stripped of all his money, clothing and property, when he was imprisoned, and after his other means failed, she sent him money with which to supply his wants, furnished him a bed, bedding, towels, linen, and funds, with which to supply himself with suitable food, coffee, tea, &c., and to supply such comforts as it was possible to do, and that he might not be obliged to eat the miserable prison fare which was supplied by the warden. She visited him in person in 1853, 1855, 1860, 1863, making constant efforts to procure his pardon.

During the last six years, Miss Tileston has been residing in Oxford, Ohio, as a teacher, where she might be near Mr. Fairbank, and where she could be enabled to furnish him with continued means. As soon as he was set at liberty he repaired at once to her place of residence, where they were married a few weeks since.

On leaving the prison, he was furnished with $5 from the prison fund and an old suit of clothes such as hod-carriers might wear. None of his personal property was surrendered to him, the present keeper refusing to give it to him, saying to him, 'All this property is mine. Seventy-five dollars sent to him were withheld and kept by the warden, Newton Craig. And after almost thirteen years of imprisonment at hard labor, stripped of all his means, he boarding himself during his incarceration, he is again free!"

THE DEMORALIZING EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON THE OPPRESSORS.

Such recitals as that given below would have been set down as an Abolition lie before the war. But now there are witnesses so numerous and so respected that they force conviction. We have no pleasure in recording such exhibitions of human depravity and cruelty; but it is necessary to let them be known, that the people may understand the true character of this system, which curses every thing it touches.

ALEXANDRIA, Louisiana, April 9, 1864.

Nearly every negro tells me stories like this:

I said to the girl who now cooks and washes for me—

"Anna, would you rather stay here with your own family and friends, or go North with me among strange people?"

"I would rather serve three white missis in the North than one Southern missus."

"Why so? Are they hard on you here—are the *ladies* hard?"

"Believe it, dey is."

"Do they ever whip their own people themselves?"

"Indeed they do."

"What have you seen and known in your own family?"

"I tell you. Our house-boy, Webster, broke one of the china dishes, and he knew the missus would be angry, so he hid it away under the house; but when the ladies missed it, they told the people if they did not find out who did it, they would all be punished; and two of the other men found out Webster and told on him, and George was frightened and run away."

"And what then?"

"They caught him and brought him back, and Mistress Bailey was sick in bed; so she told her daughter, Miss Betty, she must whip him; and she had him stripped naked, and she put her foot on his head, and she made two colored men whip him."

"Did you see this yourself?"

"Yes—we all did—and she had a rope round his neck, and when he beg for mercy, she pulled it tight, so she choke him and his tongue stick out."

"And did Miss Betty stand by and see all this?"

"She tell 'em, she *make* 'em do it—she begin after breakfast, and keep it up till two o'clock."

"What became of Webster?"

"She whip him to death—he never got over it. He lay in a sheet, and when Master Bailey hear you folks was coming, he start us all off to Texas, and we get up to the pine woods at Coteli, and there we staid awhile, and Master came back and send up Webster's mother. He died there two weeks after he was whipped, and the Union cavalry men help bury him."

If Mistress Betty Picket wishes to explain this little transaction, your columns will be open to her, I am sure, and I trust she will use them, and soon. I hope these stories are lies—are they?—*New York Evening Post.*

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA.

We are rejoiced to know that there is an upward tendency of our people—morally, mentally and industriously.

Over four years ago, when we were sent to this city to take charge of our paper and book concern, we thought that a great portion of our people were more addicted to the most degraded habits than any class in the city. In many of our little streets and alleys, they were to be found "dirty, greasy and ragged." It looked more like a state of heathenism than a people in an enlightened country. We felt somewhat cast down on account of it. We were ashamed to be caught on the street where any of them were. But we were at a great loss to know the cause of such debauched, low, and heathen-like conduct. At length we concluded to take a survey through many of those little streets and alleys, where many of our people are living, and, to our great astonishment, the cause, or the great mystery, was solved.

Our readers are now anxious to hear what the great mystery is. We found the Irish, the Dutch and the American people all living in a similar condition; and many of them, indeed, we are sorry to say, a great deal worse clad, and with features horribly bloated, with all their advantages and facilities, and possessing the rights of citizens. These Irish—the most of whom are the principal cause of the degraded condition of our people—have every third, fourth or fifth house a rum-hole, into which our people are decoyed. They are politely invited into the net, which they unconsciously go into, and, like the spider in building his web, he invites the fly into his den; and no sooner does the fly enter his parlor than the spider seizes him, and thus in his power he is soon devoured. To these Irish rum holes, our people, male and female, resort, and spend all their time, and what little they have accumulated, in drinking and playing cards.

We don't wish, however, to leave the impression that the Irish are the sole cause of our people being so debauched, &c., for the Dutch and American people have also a hand in it, who live in a similar way and among them. Many of these keep little rum-holes or shops too.

We do most emphatically say that the immoral habits of that class of our people who are so degraded in the city of Brotherly Love are principally caused by those who have the advantage of the laws of the State in which they live. Our people are therefore not so much to blame as those who have the rights and privileges of freemen. With all their boasted rights and privileges, they do a great deal worse than those who have none at all.

We are very glad to say that, within the past eighteen months, we find a great improvement in the morals of our scattered and down-trodden people, in the city of Brotherly Love, among those whose habits or morals have been so corrupted. The war, we may say, has had something to do with it, for many of the men have been drafted and others have volunteered, and thus got their bounty, and given it to their wives and children, many of whom you would hardly know if you were to meet them on the street, they are so much changed, and a great deal better clad. To receive so much money at one time was probably as much as some had received in actual cash in all their lifetime. They seem to enjoy it to some extent, and make a better appearance than their Irish neighbors, who are citizens and have the rights of freemen.

Many of the boys of our people in the streets and alleys get blacking and brushes, and follow the business of blacking colored soldiers' boots, and many of us let them black our boots, by which business they make from one to three and four dollars per day; and when the Sabbath comes, they brush themselves and go to church, where they look somewhat tidy. Hence the change in morality within the last eighteen months has been considerable.—*Philadelphia Christian Recorder (Colored).*

LETTER FROM "CARLETON."

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1864.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

We have the President's call for a half million men. Will the people honor the draft? It is a large number—a half million to be gathered from the peaceful pursuits of life, from the farms, workshops and counting-rooms. How the call for seventy-five thousand staggered us three years ago! But we have had a million called for since then, and the people have been prompt to meet the demand. Going up on the street this morning, I heard the matter discussed.

"He won't get the men," said a tall, thin-faced man to a group around him. "The people are tired of the war. They won't go." The man laid the "won't go" into the palm of his left hand with his right fist, and shut his lips together like a vice.

"You are mistaken, sir; they will go. This is the people's war, and they are determined to put it through, cost what it may of men and money," was the response of a thick-set, calm-spoken man, wearing a straw hat.

"I think it would have been better if Old Abe had called for only two hundred thousand; five hundred thousand is too great a demand upon the productive industry of the country. Besides, it will damage his prospects for a reëlection. The Copperheads will make a great handle of it. They will appeal to all the enrolled men on the ground of personal self-interest to vote for peace measures," said a third man.

"They would have had a greater handle if he had not called for more than two hundred thousand. They would have said that he was afraid; that he wanted to dilly-dally, and prolong the war. I tell you, gentlemen, that the people are ready to rise in their might, and put an end to this contest. They are tired of it; and, as my friend says, they are far ahead of the President and the Cabinet, and have been from the beginning," said the man with the straw hat.

I dare say the readers of the *Journal* have already listened to similar conversations, and there is no need for further notes of what was said by the party beneath the awning of Willard's Hotel. Since listening to that conversation, I have read the expressions of opinions from the press. It is evident that the people intend to meet the demand. We shall have the men; not all at once, but they will come. The terms of the bill are not rigorous; we shall have a large number of volunteers. The high bounties offered will induce many young men to enlist for one year; and the bill allowing recruiting in the rebel States will speedily give us one hundred thousand colored troops. Sherman's advance into Georgia will bring thousands into the Union lines.

We shall soon see a great change in the feelings of the Copperheads. There are already indications that there will be a grand rush to secure colored soldiers. Their love for themselves is a little stronger than their hatred of the negro. They will therefore be willing to give the negro a chance to fight in their stead. The New York *Express* is already anxious to head off Massachusetts. May we not expect that the Boston *Courier* will call upon Gov. Andrew to get ahead of New York? We live in an age of change. The war is a war of ideas; a battle of principles, of convictions. It is not strange that men change their opinions. It is to their credit that they do so, instead of being pig-headed, obstinate, wilful, unchangeable, when the age is changing. Rather it is impossible, in such an age as this, when public opinion sweeps on like a wild mill stream, for men to resist the current. They must float with it, or sink and be lost forever.

Men do not often change their convictions without reason. Two years ago, the most liberal Republicans had doubts about negro soldiers. Would they fight? Had they intelligence enough to be made soldiers of? Could they be trusted?

A few days ago, I sat in the tent of Gen. W. F. Smith, commander of the 18th army corps, and heard his narration of the manner in which Gen. Hinks's division of colored troops stood the fire and charged upon the rebel works east of Petersburg, on the 16th of June. There were eighteen guns pouring a constant fire of solid shot and shells upon those troops, enfilading the line, cutting it lengthwise and crosswise. "Yet they stood unmoved for *six hours!* Not a man flinched. (These are the words of the General.) It was as severe a test as I ever saw. But they stood it, and when my arrangements were completed for charging the works, they moved with the steadiness of veterans to the attack. I expected that they would fall back, or be cut to pieces, but when I saw them move over the field, gain the works and capture the guns, I was astounded! They lost between five and six hundred men in doing it. There is material in the negroes to make the best troops in the world, if they are properly trained."

Those are the words of one of the ablest commanders and engineers in the service—a graduate of West Point, who, earlier in the war, had the prejudices which were held by many other men against the negro. He has changed his views. He is convinced, and honorably follows his convictions, as do all men who are not stone blind and perversely wilful.

Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Western Virginia must bear their part of the burden. They will enlist colored troops to make up their quotas. From all the States it is not too high an estimate to reckon upon an hundred thousand colored troops. Emigration never was so brisk as now, and a large per centage of the men arriving from the old world are accepting the high bounties, and taking their places in the ranks. There will be a small per centage of veterans who will accept the bounties and go for another year. I have not the census statistics at hand, but the annual increase of population will bring many thousands of young men to the ranks. Looking at the subject in all its bearings, I agree with the man who said that we shall have the men. There are indications of a new outburst of patriotic fervor. Men of wealth who are not liable to be drafted are sending their representatives, churches and congregations are joining in the plan, and lastly, patriotic women are sending their representatives.

It is a herculean effort. It will astonish the world. It will amaze our children, when, in the light of coming peaceful years, they read of the doings of their fathers and mothers. So to-day we stand the teacher of the nations, and the foster-mother of the coming ages.

THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.

I had the pleasure this morning of looking at Carpenter's great historical painting of the Cabinet council over the Proclamation of Freedom. It is not yet finished, but is far enough advanced to enable one to judge of what it will be when completed. The figures are all of them faithful portraits. The President and all the members of the Cabinet have given sittings to the artist, and the picture will represent not only the great historical fact, but also preserve the portraits of the President and his ministers. There are no meretricious auxiliaries to make it a *taking* picture. It is, on the contrary, true and faithful in the minutest detail. There are the plain chairs, the Cabinet table—the same that stood there when Jackson wrote his proclamation against nullification. The moment of time taken by the artist is very felicitous. Mr. Seward has just made his single remark, advising its postponement till it can be promulgated after a victory, instead of on the heels of a defeat.

The artist has given his best energies to the work, has achieved a success which will win universal admiration, and has linked his name deservedly with the greatest event of the present time, for which he will receive the thanks of the present as well as of future generations.

It will probably be on exhibition in Boston during the fall.

CARLETON.

LETTER FROM ANDREW JOHNSON.

The Nashville *Union* publishes Andrew Johnson's acceptance of the Baltimore Union nomination for the Vice Presidency of the United States. It is highly patriotic and very satisfactory in its tone. On the slavery question it is commendably emphatic—going for the utter extinction of the foul system. We give below the main portion of it:—

The separation of the government has for years been the cherished purpose of the Southern leaders. Baffled in 1832, by the stern, patriotic heroism of Andrew Jackson, they sullenly acquiesced, only to mature their diabolical schemes, and await the occurrence of a more favorable opportunity to execute them. Then the pretext was the tariff, and Jackson, after foiling their schemes of nulification and disunion, with prophetic perspicuity warned the country against the renewal of their efforts to dismember the government.

In a letter, dated May 1, 1833, to the Rev. A. J. Crawford, after demonstrating the heartless insincerity of the Southern nullifiers, he said:

"Therefore the tariff was only a pretext, and disunion and a Southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."

Time has fully verified this prediction, and we have now not only a "negro or slavery question" as the pretext, but the real cause of this rebellion, and both must go down together. It is vain to attempt to reconstruct the Union with the distracting element of slavery in it. Experience has demonstrated its incompatibility with free and republican governments, and it would be unwise and unjust longer to continue it as one of the institutions of the country. While it remained subordinate to the Constitution and laws of the United States, I yielded to it my support, but when it became rebellious and attempted to rise above the government and control its action, I threw my humble influence against it.

The authority of the government is supreme, and will admit of no rivalry. No institution can rise above it, whether it be slavery or any other organized power. In our happy form of government, all must be subordinate to the will of the people, when reflected through the Constitution and laws made pursuant thereto—State or Federal. This great principle lies at the foundation of every government, and cannot be disregarded without the destruction of the government itself.

In the support and practice of correct principles we can never reach wrong results; and by rigidly adhering to this fundamental truth, the end will be the preservation of the Union, and the overthrow of an institution which has made war upon and attempted the destruction of the government itself.

The mode by which this great change—the emancipation of the slave—can be effected, is properly found in the power to amend the Constitution of the United States. This plan is effectual, and of no doubtful authority; and while it does not contravene the timely exercise of the war power by the President in his Emancipation Proclamation, it comes stamped with the authority of the people themselves, acting in accordance with the written rule of the supreme law of the land, and must therefore give more general satisfaction and quietude to the distracted public mind.

By recurring to the principles contained in the resolutions so unanimously adopted by the Convention, I find that they substantially accord with my public acts and opinions heretofore made known and expressed, and are therefore most cordially indorsed and approved; and the nomination, having been conferred without any solicitation on my part, is with the greater pleasure accepted.

In accepting the nomination I might here close, but I cannot forego the opportunity of saying to my old friends of the Democratic party proper, with whom I have so long and pleasantly been associated, that the hour has now come when that great party can justly vindicate its devotion to true Democratic policy and measures of expediency. The war is a war of great principles. It involves the supremacy and life of the government itself. If the rebellion triumphs, free government, North and South, fails. If, on the other hand, the government is successful,—as I do not doubt—its destiny is fixed, its basis permanent and enduring, and its career of honor and glory just begun.

In a great contest like this for the existence of free government, the path of duty is patriotism and principle. Minor considerations and questions of administrative policy should give way to the higher duty of first preserving the government; and then will be time enough to wrangle over men and measures pertaining to administration.

This is not the hour for strife and division among ourselves. Such differences of opinion only encourage the enemy, prolong the war and waste the country. Unity of action and concentration of power should be our watchword and rallying-cry. This accomplished, the time will rapidly approach when their arms in the field, the great power of the rebellion, will be broken and crushed by our gallant officers and brave soldiers, and ere long they will return to their homes and firesides, to resume again the avocations of peace, with the proud consciousness that they have aided in the noble work of re-establishing upon a surer and more permanent basis the great temple of American Freedom.

I am, gentlemen, with sentiments of high regard,

Yours truly, ANDREW JOHNSON.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S TERMS.

A certain class of low, tricky politicians find it wholly impossible to comprehend the grandly simple and entirely honest truism of President Lincoln, that no terms of peace can be made with rebellion which would involve a repudiation of the pledge of freedom contained in the Emancipation Proclamation. "The promise being made, must be kept," is a phrase of such homely honesty that it is perhaps for that very reason, utterly incomprehensible to the great mass of professed politicians, who never look beyond mere temporary expedients of availability, to meet any emergencies which may arise. They have been so long accustomed to the little petty shifts of partisan demagogues, that they have lost all power of comprehending any action based upon simple honesty; and so they cannot understand why it is that the President, after making the solemn pledge to the Southern slaves in behalf of the Government, that they are henceforth and forever free, cannot now turn and consign these helpless millions to worse bondage than ever before.

We do not wonder at this moral obliquity among the pro-slavery, Copperhead Democracy, for it is in full keeping with their character; but we are surprised that any professedly loyal man should consider such a proposition, even for a moment. Yet we find in the New York *Times* of Saturday a criticism on the President's conditions for treating with a view to peace, that he included among them "the abandonment of slavery." The *Times* says it "does not know as it will be found possible to end the war and restore the Union without such abandonment"; but that it need not have been exacted as a condition for receiving and considering proposals for peace. The *Times* adds:—

"The people do not require him to insist upon any such condition. Neither his oath of office, nor his constitutional duty, *nor his personal or official consistency requires him to insist upon it*"!

How the editor of the *Times* could have made such a statement as that in the clause we have underscored, evidently written with direct reference to the Emancipation Proclamation, can be accounted for only by a moral obliviousness that has given him an unenviable nickname, which he seems determined shall adhere to him forever. We admit that Mr. Lincoln's oath of office did not originally require him to make the destruction of slavery a condition of peace; nor did Mr. Lincoln do anything against slavery until in his judgment, after full deliberation, it seemed necessary to free and use the slave element at the South, as one of the essential means of securing and preserving the integrity of the Union. Then, and not till then, the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued as an inducement to the slaves to adhere to the Union cause. They have responded as nobly and patriotically to that appeal as any class of citizens would have done under similar circumstances. More than one hundred thousand of them are now in the Union armies, and they have done and are doing good service on many a hard-fought field. To consign again to slavery men who have consecrated their devotion to the Union with their blood, would not only be a gross breach of faith, but a crime of such magnitude and meanness that it ought to be indignantly repelled by even the most violent and pro-slavery Copperheads. If we could think it would ever be committed it would cost us the respect and confidence of the world, and even of the rebels themselves. Everything else than this is open to discussion, to conditions and compromise, if the necessities of war should compel us to conclude terms of peace, but we cannot sacrifice these millions who have implicitly trusted our national pledge and honor. The fact of their helplessness, which makes this sacrifice easy to politicians, makes it all the more repugnant to every honest and honorable mind.

But its folly would be no less than its wickedness. We have no reason to believe that even by breaking faith with the helpless millions who have trusted us, and promising again to return them to slavery, that we could gain any terms of peace from the rebels, short of an absolute recognition. From the rebel leaders themselves we know that this is their only ultimatum, and in proposing concessions we should only humiliate ourselves in vain. This nation has been guilty too long already in sacrificing millions of its weakest and poorest citizens to cruel and oppressive bondage, in the delusive hope of preserving peace. For fifty years we have bought peace by compromises—by weak and wicked concessions to the demon which has ever been threatening our existence. We have petted and fed this demon till it has become the dominating power in this nation. Now, as the result of that fifty years' peace, we are involved in the greatest and most terrible war which ever desolated the families and hearthstones of any nation. We now want peace again; but we do not want it purchased by concession and compromise, at the cost of such a fearful after retribution. The old peace, so bought, lasted fifty years; but if it were possible by concessions to slavery to stop the war, it would only be an armistice that would not last ten years before war, with an hundred-fold of horrors, would be upon us. We want peace; but we want it secured by wholly exorcising the evil spirit, and not merely bribing it to leave voluntarily for a time, to come again with seven other devils more wicked than itself, to turn and rend us worse than before.

Against these dangers the country is providentially secured. Never before were we so thankful that no other man than honest Abraham Lincoln is now President of the United States. We have regretted that Mr. Lincoln was sometimes slow in perceiving the popular will, and have thought that on some questions other men might have been better as public leaders than he has been; but after all, we can rely with the utmost confidence upon Abraham Lincoln as we could on no one else, that under no circumstances will he do anything that would dishonor the nation. Never before have we had reason to be so thankful that our President is the man who uttered those noble, but grandly honest words—that the nation's pledge to the slave "must be kept." Thank God we have a President whose standard of honesty is that of the people, and not of tricky and "little villain" politicians.—*Rochester Express.*

FREMONTISM.

President Lincoln may have been unfortunate in the choice of his Cabinet. There may be some men there, who, whatever of influence they do exert, is on the side of mercy to the rebels; but that is only another proof of the strong mind and independent action of Mr. Lincoln, that he has pursued the even tenor of his way, and dealt such blows to the rebellion as the forces at his command were able. The trouble with such men as Fremont and his supporters is, that they have failed to appreciate the force we have to overthrow. No nation on the globe ever put such armies in the field as the South, and we have to overcome them on their chosen ground. Yet they blame the Administration because the work is not done faster. Gen. Grant has done a great work in this campaign, but they abuse him and everybody who believes in him. Read some choice extracts from the *New Nation*. They contain as much *virus* as any Copperhead can desire:

"Grant is the completest and dearest failure of all the many blunders made by the Administration. Halleck was worthless, but almost harmless. Grant is still more worthless, but does still more harm. As we have said from the beginning, Halleck was so used up by public opinion that the Administration felt the need of freshening itself up by a popular name; it was then that Washburne appeared like a *deus ex machina*, with his Grant, whose popularity had been designedly kept up at the expense of truth."

That is Fremontism! What wonder that Copperhead journals pat Fremont on the back, and cry "Good fellow," when he fights their battles so valiantly for them! He has taken up their trade of abusing the Administration and everybody in its confidence, and does it under the influence of personal selfishness and hate; so much worse than they know how, they yield to him and his friends the palm. Here is another choice extract:—

"If Grant does not take Richmond by the Fourth of July, it is clear that the Administration, with a guilty design, has abused the credulity of the people, and that Grant, through stupidity or malice, has been the accomplice of a disloyal manœuvre, with the aim of assuming the supreme command of the army, and of procuring in exchange Lincoln's re-election. In that case, good sense and the loyalty of an indignant people will dispose of the two guilty persons, in spite of the gold contractors and Lincoln's patronage."

That is Fremontism! We make this assertion again, for fear our readers will mistake it for the *virus* of the Copperheads. Bear in mind these extracts are from Fremont's organ, the *New Nation*; and who can wonder that, occupying such a position, with *such* an organ, he should be the object of Democratic admiration?—*Hamilton (N. Y.) Democrat.*

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 5, 1864.

FIRST OF AUGUST AT ABINGTON.

SPEECHES OF HON. LEVI REED AND GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

The ever-memorable and glorious First of August was celebrated by the citizens of Abington, in their beautiful Grove, on Monday last. There was a very large gathering of people, numbering thousands, drawn thither by the announcement that GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., would speak, and by the many attractions of the delightful spot where the meeting was to be held.

At 10½ o'clock, the assembly was called to order by Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON, who proposed the following gentlemen as officers of the meeting, and they were unanimously elected:—

President—HON. LEVI REED.

Vice Presidents—Dea. JOSEPH CLEVERLY, SAMUEL REED, M. H. POOLE, MERRITT NASH, Rev. H. D. WALKER, WM. L. REED, GRIDLEY BEAL.

Secretaries—SAMUEL DYER, LOUIS E. NOYES.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. Mr. Hatch, of Concord, N. H., after which Mr. Edwin Thompson stated that the distinguished English orator and philanthropist who had been announced as one of the speakers, having been detained in the western part of the State, to deliver an address on Sunday evening, would not be able to reach the Grove until the afternoon.

The remainder of the forenoon was occupied by speeches from Mrs. Van Benthuysen, Rev. Messrs. Hatch, Hewitt, (of South Weymouth,) and Thompson, and Mr. Richard Thayer. The lessons of the great and beneficent event which makes the day illustrious in history were set forth in an interesting and forcible manner by the several speakers, to encourage and inspire the friends of the slave to renewed and persistent effort, until the last chain is broken, and here, as in the emancipated West Indian isles,

"The laborer sits beneath his vine,
And shackled soul and hand are free."

The afternoon session commenced at half-past one, and brief addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Hayes of South Weymouth, Rev. L. A. Sawyer of Boston, Rev. Mr. Hatch, and Mrs. Van Benthuysen. At 3½ o'clock, Mr. Thompson arrived, and was most cordially greeted by the large audience. The Chairman, in behalf of the assembly, welcomed him in these words:—

ADDRESS OF HON. LEVI REED.

Fellow-Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

I esteem it one of the most honored events of my life, that I have been called upon by you to preside at this meeting of the patriotic people of Abington, to extend a hearty welcome to the honorable gentleman, our guest on this occasion.

I esteem it also most appropriate, that this day, the first day of August, 1864, the anniversary of British West India Emancipation, has been chosen as the day to welcome our friend, who, more than any other man, was the great agent in hastening an event which has shed more glory on the British crown than any other in its history.

Mr. Thompson first became known to the people of this country by his efforts in Great Britain, in the gigantic struggle that resulted in the emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West Indies, on the first day of August, 1834, just thirty years ago to-day. During the contest of three years preceding that event, his labors were regarded by all as the most efficient means of bringing about the final result. By facts and figures, by argument, by logic, by writing, and above all, by his unsurpassed eloquence and power, he wrought such a change in public opinion, every where silencing his adversaries, that Parliament passed the act which we this day commemorate.

In the year 1834, while this contest was at its height, Mr. Garrison, our fellow-citizen, whom we expected to welcome here to-day, visited England on a mission in behalf of the slave, and there first became acquainted with our distinguished friend. It would require no prophet to tell that the burning zeal and glowing eloquence of Mr. Thompson in the cause of the slave found a hearty response in the bosom of Mr. Garrison, and begat an affection that time and distance have never been able to quench. By an arrangement then made, it was agreed that Mr. Thompson should visit this country the next year, and lecture in behalf of the slave, and he arrived in New York, Sept. 23, 1834.

It is no part of my purpose on this occasion to give a detailed statement of his labors during the thirteen months he remained in this country. It is impossible for those who have since come upon the stage of action to conceive the intense bitterness and scorn with which every one was visited who ventured to embrace the Anti-Slavery cause. The burning of buildings, the dispersion of schools for colored children, the pelting of lecturers with eggs and stones, and mobs that destroyed property and put in jeopardy life and limb, were among the means used by the friends of slavery to defend their *peculiar* institution. It was during this period that Lovejoy was killed at Alton, Ill., and his printing press thrown into the river. The office of another press, in Cincinnati, was sacked, and a mob in Washington street, Boston, destroyed the Anti-Slavery Office, broke up a female prayer meeting, and, failing to find Mr. Thompson, as they expected, seized upon Mr. Garrison as the next greatest culprit, and led him off with a rope about him as for execution, and he was only saved by being placed in jail, to protect him from the fury of the crowd. And what added to the infamy of this transaction was the unblushing effrontery with which the papers declared, the next day, that it was "no mob, but a collection of gentlemen] of property and standing from all parts of the city, to protect the rights of our Southern friends."

The ill treatment common at that time was visited with double fury upon the head of our friend. As his arguments and eloquence were unanswerable, resort must be had to force to silence him; and even Abington is not entirely free from the reputation of having disturbed one of his meetings. But the order-loving citizens were immediately aroused, and at a public meeting called for the purpose, it was resolved that here in Abington, at least, the right of free speech should be maintained. A committee was appointed to invite Mr. Thompson to lecture, and he at once promptly accepted the invitation. The day appointed arrived, and its anxieties few can now realize. The fury of the mob spirit had reached such a height that it was utterly impossible for him to appear in public in any large town; bloodhounds were upon his track, eager for his life, and it had been publicly given out, that if he dared to appear to make an address, his life should pay the forfeit.

On the morning of that day, in a quiet street of Boston might have been seen a carriage containing Mr. Thompson, the Rev. S. J. May, Mr. George Benson, and a young man, an inhabitant of this town, but then a student in Andover. Through bye streets and quiet ways, to avoid the fiends in search for him, they made the journey to Abington, where they arrived in season to dine with a friend who still survives, and is here present with us to-day—[SAMUEL REED, Esq.] And of the others, sir, you may be interested to know, that Mr. May still lives, an honor to the cause which he so nobly espoused; Mr. Benson has long since gone home to his reward on high; and the fair-haired student of 1835, by the providence of God has been preserved, and by the favor of his fellow-citizens stands before you to-day, to welcome you again to the soil of Abington. (Applause.)

The meeting was held, and well was the character of the town vindicated on that day. Stalwart men stood ready to maintain peace and order by force, if necessary, and the address was delivered, and not so much as a dog wagged his tongue in opposition. This was the last address delivered by him in this country during his first visit. He soon returned to England, where he has since been constantly engaged in every great reform that has been brought before the people. He has been the advocate of the extension of suffrage; of the abolition of the apprenticeship system; of the repeal of the odious corn laws, that taxed the bread of the poor; and of a most thorough and radical reform in the British East India Company. As a member of Parliament, he was found on the side of liberal measures. With Cobden and Bright, he has always advocated the interests of the *many* over the *few*. In short, he was never engaged in a *bad* cause, and never neglected a *good* one. But it is since the outbreak of the present rebellion that he has been of the most essential service to this country in his exposure before the British public of the schemes of the rebels. Understanding better than almost any other man in Great Britain the peculiar condition of affairs here, he has not failed to impress on the public mind the justice of our cause, and the iniquity and falsehoods of the Slave Power.

But, sir, the people of Abington have assembled to welcome you here on the first of August, 1864, the thirtieth anniversary of British Emancipation. Nearly one third of a century has elapsed since you last spoke here, but the same love of liberty and equal rights still burns in our hearts now as then. In their name and in their behalf, I now bid you welcome. I welcome you to a country where universal emancipation has been proclaimed, and where we hope soon to see it an accomplished fact. I welcome you to the healthful skies and verdant fields of New England. I bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to the good old town of Abington, where the people are more than ready to efface all memory of past wrongs by a cordial reception to-day. I welcome you in the belief, that soon every slave in the land shall stand "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation." (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

Some explanation—and perhaps apology as well as explanation—may be due to this audience for my very late appearance. First let me say, that I earnestly desired to be here, because I have never in my life, in this country at least, been at a similar gathering, and because I was anxious to participate with you in all the proceedings that might take place here, in connection with the celebration of that beneficent event which you are assembled to commemorate. Compelled to address a very large meeting in the town of Florence, in the western part of this State, last evening, and unable to leave until five o'clock this morning, I have been travelling almost ever since with the view of reaching this spot in time to fulfil my engagement. I have travelled 140 miles in order to get here. I arrived in Boston at 11 o'clock, and there, through an accident, I failed to meet a friend who intended to take me at once to the Old Colony depot, to take the train for South Braintree, I think, where a carriage was in waiting to bring me here immediately. Through the failure of my friend to meet me, I have been compelled to take a late train. I have done my best to keep my appointment, and I trust you will pardon my late appearance among you.

Sir, I well remember that meeting to which you have referred in the good town of Abington. At that meeting, I made the last speech which I delivered in the United States during my first visit to this country; for immediately after the delivery of that speech, it was thought by my friends that I should become conspicuous by my absence, and on my own native shores seek that safety which they could not promise me here. I recollect well, that at that meeting I ventured to prophesy that the people of New England, the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, though they detested me, loathed me, and were about to spew me out—and they did so—would yet overcome their repugnance to anti-slavery principles, and that I should live to see Massachusetts standing upon those principles, and battling for their maintenance. (Applause.)

My friends, I *have* lived to see that day. Driven out of your country in 1835, obliged to depart from the city of Boston when the church bells had ceased to toll, and the congregations were assembled in the many Christian temples of the metropolis of New England; carried down—smuggled down, rather—to the wharf in a close carriage, with the blinds drawn down, hastily put on board ship, and told to go at once into the cabin and be invisible until I had got out of sight of the shores of the United States of America,—departing thence, and in this way, in 1835,—loathed, execrated, the outlaw of America,—I return in 1864; and how different my reception! I went in a little brig of about 150 tons; I return in a magnificent steamer of 2000 tons. The stately vessel comes alongside the wharf at East Boston, and three gentlemen step on board, who introduce themselves as officers of the customs, and assure me that I shall be put to no trouble in the way of an examination of my baggage, that a carriage is in waiting to carry me to my lodgings, and that they shall be glad to render me any assistance in their power. Not this alone, but in a few days, in the magnificent Music Hall in Boston, the Governor, the thrice noble Governor of this State, welcomes me to the Old Bay State, as the guest of Massachusetts.

But, sir, to the business of this day. I am anxious to recall to the recollection of those who have read the history of our great emancipation movement in England, and to state for the information of those who have not read that history, one or two facts relating to it. I want you to go back to the time when the germ of that great movement which issued not only in the abolition of the slave trade, but in the abolition of slavery, first manifested itself.

In the year 1785, a humane man—the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge—announced a prize for the best Latin essay on the question, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" A young man, then a student in one of the colleges, entered into the competition. He construed the words of the thesis into a reference to the African slave-trade, and resolved to prepare his essay accordingly. He was wholly ignorant on the subject, and had but a few weeks for the accomplishment of his task. He gained access to the manuscripts of a deceased slave-trader, and held conversations with some officers who had been in the West Indies. By accident he saw an advertisement of Anthony Benezet's "Historical Account of Guinea," and hastened to London to buy it. The contents were all he wanted, and he sat down to his work. That work he had entered upon as a contest for academical distinction, but he soon found it changed into a painful investigation into the character and details of an inhuman system, the curse of the world, and the scandal of his country. As he proceeded, his imagination was filled with horror, and his heart melted with pity; sleep fled from his eyes and tranquillity from his soul. He finished his essay, he read it in the Senate, he received the prize, and, with his manuscript in his pocket, he started for London. Let his own pen describe what took place on the way: "I became at times seriously affected while upon the road. I stopped my horse occasionally, and dismounted and walked. I frequently tried to persuade myself in these intervals that the contents of my essay could not be true. The more, however, I reflected upon them, or rather upon the authorities on which they were founded, the more I gave them credit. Coming in sight of Wade's Mill in Hertfordshire, I sat down disconsolate on the turf by the roadside, and held my horse. Here a thought came into my mind, [oh, what a thought was that in its influence and its consequences!] that if the contents of the essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end. Agitated in this manner, I reached home." The man into whose mind that thought came was Thomas Clarkson:—

"He was the foremost minister of grace,
The new Las Casas of a ruined race;
With angel might he braved the powers of hell,
And fought, like Michael, till the dragon fell."

There have been men connected with the cause which brings us here to-day, who have exhibited powers more brilliant than those of Mr. Clarkson, who was not distinguished as an orator, and never aspired to be a statesman; but for simplicity of character, for purity of motive, for disinterested benevolence, for earnestness of purpose and religious devotion to the work he undertook, he has had no superior. Well, God sent him help. He found it first amongst those who are most truly called "The Society of Friends." A Dillwyn and a Phillips became his coadjutors, and in George-yard, Lombard-street, they together concerted the publication of the essay which the Cambridge student had now translated. In time, a Parliamentary Committee was obtained, and it was the evidence collected by Mr. Clarkson, and laid before that Committee, which arrested the attention of Mr. Wilberforce, and secured to the cause the services of that illustrious orator and philanthropists. "His eloquence (I quote the words of the eloquent Lord Brougham) was of the highest order. It was persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree; but it was occasionally bold and impassioned, animated by the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought, chastened by a pure taste, varied by extensive information, enriched by classical allusions, sometimes elevated by the more sublime topics of holy writ—the thoughts

"That wrapt Isaiah's hallowed soul in fire.

Mr. Wilberforce was not without co-workers in the two Houses of Parliament. Amongst them were many illustrious names—Viscount Howic (afterwards Earl Grey), Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), Lord Grenville, Lord Holland, William Pitt, and Edmund Burke.

The members of the Society of Friends in England were among the most zealous auxiliaries in the movement. They created a very wide and strong public excitement in favor of the abolition of the slave trade. Yet, notwithstanding the religious and moral and humane feelings of the community in Great Britain were deeply moved upon the question, and petitions almost without number were, session after session, parliament after parliament, presented in favor of the abolition of the inhuman traffic, still it had the sanction and protection of the Imperial Legislature, and continued for seven and twenty or eight and twenty years after Mr. Clarkson commenced his agitation, until Charles James Fox, one of our greatest orators, came into the administration; and while he had control of public affairs, he passed a bill through both Houses of Parliament, abolishing forever the African slave trade.

Those who had interested themselves in the removal of this opprobrium upon the character and Christianity of the country did not disband, but continued in association, and went on in their efforts, in view of procuring a mitigation of the evils of slavery in the West India colonies, and with the view, also, of obtaining the passage of measures in Parliament that should promote the gradual abolition of slavery. But, however well meant these efforts might have been,—and they were most pure in their intention and benevolent in their design,—they were wholly ineffectual. All their attempts to mitigate the evils of slavery were vain; all their attempts to alleviate the sorrows and burdens of the slave were vain; all their attempts to obtain resolutions or colonial laws looking to the extinction of slavery at some future time were vain. They were worse than vain. They irritated the proprietors. They led the planters in the West Indies to form colonial societies for the suppression of missionary operations, and for the banishment of all those who had been sent to the West Indies to instruct the juvenile negro population. They proceeded to outrage and violence. They burned down the chapels of the missionaries. They razed to their foundations the schools for the negro children. They threw one missionary into a dungeon on a false charge of inciting the slaves to revolt; and in that dungeon he died, a martyr to the holy cause to which he had devoted himself. They sent several missionaries home after they had tarred and feathered and otherwise abused them. But they little thought what they were doing. Like that madness which has seized upon the slaveholders of this continent, they were but precipitating the destruction, both of themselves and the institution they desired to perpetuate. This act on the part of the colonial assemblies and their myrmidons in the West India Islands only rendered the opposition to slavery in Great Britain the stronger and the more resolute; and in 1832, an event took place which greatly facilitated the attainment of the object which the Abolitionists had in view. That circumstance was the passage of a reform bill—a bill extending very considerably beyond the then basis of representation in England, the franchise of the people. After that bill was passed, and a new Parliament was to be assembled, I (who had been for some years previously in the field, traversing England) went through the country again and again, from end to end, journeying as fast as locomotives—though there were but few railroads then—and post-chaises and gigs, and all other conveyances could transport me, with a view of arousing the newly enfranchised constituency to the duty they had now to discharge of consecrating their virgin franchise to the sacred cause of the abolition of slavery; and by these appeals to the various constituencies of the United Kingdom, we sent into the first reform Parliament of Great Brttain a majority of men pledged to the immediate, unconditional and total abolition of slavery. (Applause.)

That measure was passed in 1833. Mr. Garrison was in England while it was being discussed in the two Houses of Parliament. In company with Mr. Garrison, I visited the venerable William Wilberforce, a few weeks only before his death, but not until he had received the assurance of the certainty of that great measure being carried; and it was our privilege to be the witnesses of his ecstatic joy in the contemplation of the speedy accomplishment of the great work to which he had devoted half a century of his life. It was our privilege to hear him say—"Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He was then upon the brink of the grave. A few weeks afterwards he died. His remains were brought to London; a public funeral was voted to him; a tomb was assigned him in that noblest of all our cathedral edifices, Westminster Abbey, and Mr. Garrison and I followed in the long train of those who accompanied the lifeless body of William Wilberforce to his last resting-place, and, with princes of the blood, with peers of the realm, with the highest commoners in the land, with the humblest citizens, and with a goodly number of that race to whose interests Mr. Wilberforce had devoted himself, we saw all of him that was mortal laid in the grave, between William Pitt and Charles James Fox.

"So sleep the good, who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest;
When Spring with dewy fingers cold
Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung,
By fairy hands their knell is wrung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there."

And I venture to say that that good man and great man who "still lives" to behold the germination and the fruition of that seed which through his life, ever since he was a boy, he has been scattering over this land—I venture to predict that that good and great man, who has been the object of calumny and derision and misrepresentation and persecution in this country, like his predecessor, William Wilberforce, shall receive in this country a similar tribute to the noble and sublime consecration of his life to the cause of humanity; and as the memory of William Wilberforce is hallowed in England, so the name of William Lloyd Garrison will be cherished and embalmed in the love and veneration of the people of America. (Loud applause.)

The bill for emancipation took effect, as your respected chairman has told you, the first of August, 1834. To-day we are assembled on the first of August, 1864. A generation has passed away, and we have now abundant opportunity of determining what have been the results flowing from the great act that was consummated thirty years ago. As in this country in recent years, so in Great Britain in former years, there were numerous predictions of scenes of outrage and violence and desolation that would most certainly follow the emancipation of the negroes from their chains. Have any of these predictions been accomplished? Let us see. Respecting the emancipation of the negroes, I may say, without risk of contradiction, that the annals of our race would be searched in vain for a parallel instance of a transition so sudden and complete from slavery to freedom, so undisfigured by any abuse of the power which liberty bestows. Thirty years ago, at midnight, on the 31st of July, 1834, the negro was a slave—a chattel in the eye of the law—who might not call his head, his hands, his heart, his wife, his child, his thought, his soul his own. The hour struck, and in a moment his chains fell; his condition changed; the brute became a man; and he passed forever from the degradation of a slave into the dignity and responsibilities of a free man. What did he do? Did he gather up the manacles which had fallen at his feet and hurl them in defiance at the head of his former oppressor? Did he assert his liberty by grappling—free man with free man—with him who had robbed him of his person, mulcted him in his wages, scourged him to his labor, polluted his home, and made merchandise of his children? How he acted it is needless here to tell. The record of his manly and Christian virtues is written. It is written in the annals of every Missionary Society; in the despatches of every Colonial Government; in the journals of every traveller; and in the imperishable archives of the State. Had the negro been for fifty years under the management of the bench of Bishops, he could not have accepted the gift of freedom in a more becoming manner, or celebrated it in a more Christian way. Well, thirty years have passed away since the slaves were emancipated, and what are they now? They are free men; exercising the liberty, the rights, the privileges and power of free men. Have they abused their liberty to the destruction or injury of their former oppressors? Have they relapsed into barbarism, and the usual vices and slothfulness of barbarians? Have they slighted or misused their opportunities for the advancement of their material, moral, intellectual, or spiritual improvement? I point to the facts for an answer. They are industrious cultivators, and often the independent freeholders of the soil. They are the liberal promoters of education. They are the devout members of Christian churches. They sustain out of their own resources the worship of God, and the various religious institutions of their own locality, and even send to the treasuries of Societies in Great Britain their liberal contributions. There is no department of agricultural, commercial, mechanical, or political life, into which they have not entered, and in which they have not creditably distinguished themselves. Who, then, regrets emancipation? Who would go back to the old state of things? For myself, I will say, that for all the wealth ever drawn from the sugar-fields of the West Indies, to swell the bloated fortunes of absentee slave-proprietors, I would not go back to the 31st of July, 1834. Still speaking for myself, I will say, could we gain a similar end, by the same means, and with the like results, in Cuba and the United States, I would gladly see every rice, cotton, and tobacco plantation perish. (Applause.)

What is the condition of the negro of the West Indies now? And while I am describing his condition, and looking back thirty years, I ask you to look thirty years before you; and what I describe the 800,000 human beings, made free in 1834, to be in 1864, I will undertake to say, (and trust I may look down to see the realization of my prophecy,) that you will witness on this continent thirty years hence, in the conduct and status of four millions of your fellow-citizens in this part of the world. The negro in the West Indies can now vote for his representative in the Colonial Assembly, and may even aspire to a seat there himself. More than that, he has gained a seat in the Colonial Assembly, and in that Assembly you will see white men and black men sitting together upon terms of absolute equality, and making laws for the colony in which they are all equal citizens. This is a proud day for the negro all over the world, and it is observed as such wherever there are negroes free to celebrate it. It encourages the negro still in bondage to look through his dungeon bars to the light beyond, and to anticipate the day when he too will trample on his rusting shackles, and stand erect and free.

So much for West India emancipation and its results. Now a word about emancipation in this country, and then I may perhaps be excused if I resume my seat. What has been doing in this country for thirty years? Thirty years ago, this nation was in a condition of slumber on the question of slavery; to a great extent indifferent. One voice there was crying in the wilderness, but who heeded that voice? One newspaper there was, without subscribers, without patronage, and five thousand dollars were offered for the head of its editor by the State of Georgia; but, thanks to that God whose watchful providence is over the instruments which he selects to accomplish his own purposes, that head still remains upon the shoulders of the man to whom it belongs, clear and bright as ever, exhibiting an intellect as sagacious, and connected with a heart as pure and as noble, as it was thirty years ago. Well, since then, anti-slavery seed has been sown. For ten years, it was sown without any apparent effect. There was no result to be seen in the awakening churches or in the action of the political parties of the country. So far from it, the churches of the North were one with the churches of the South in vindication of slavery, and in making apologies for it, even from the Bible itself. But after ten years, we find anti-slavery principles taking an outward and visible form, in the shape of political action. I know enough of Americans to know that they must eventually carry everything to the ballot-box, and always expected that when anti-slavery principles had obtained to any considerable extent, they would be exhibited in the form of political action; and so in 1840, although many abolitionists, and many of the best abolitionists in this country refused to vote, considering that they could neither act the part of voters, nor by their votes give their sanction to men in Congress in doing that which the Constitution called upon them to do, yet there were others, high-minded and humane men, who said, "Let us give to our principles an open and manifest form"; and so in a village called Warsaw, in the State of New York, a convention of a handful of Abolitionists nominated as a candidate for the Presidential chair a repentant slaveholder, who had emancipated his bondmen in Kentucky, had come North, had joined the Abolitionists, and had been for some years earnestly working in the ranks. Well, how many votes were given for the first anti-slavery candidate that was ever presented to the constituency of America? Out of a million and three-quarters of qualified voters, Mr. James G. Birney had 7,300. That was the number in the Israel of that day who refused to bow down to the bloody Moloch of slavery in the Southern States. Four years went by; Mr. Birney was renominated. When he was nominated the first time, he was called the candidate of the Third party; when nominated the second time, he was the candidate of what was called the Liberty Party.

Well, in 1848, Mr. Van Buren was nominated upon an anti-slavery platform—measurably so; looking just as far as the Constitution allowed the people to look, in those days, with the view of mitigating the evils of slavery; and by a union with the Barnburners of New York, 271,000 votes were obtained, out of about two million of votes. Four years later, Mr. Hale was nominated as the candidate of the Free Soil party; but, there being no Barnburners to help the abolitionists, the number sunk down to 156,000. Then, between 1852 and 1856, owing to the ceaseless aggressions of the South, to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, to their repeal of the Missouri compromise, to their invasion of Kansas, to the decision given in the case of Dred Scott, etc., the number of political anti-slavery men had swollen from 156,000, who were the supporters of Mr. Hale, to more than 1,300,000, who were the supporters of Fremont. You know that that same party continued its organization, and fought a successful battle in the next Presidential campaign; and in 1860, for the first time in the history of this country as an independent nation, its government was changed from a government administered in the interest of slavery to a government administered in the spirit and in the interest of liberty. (Applause.) You know what has been the result. Secession—secession even before Mr. Lincoln left his home in Illinois to proceed to Washington to take his inaugural oath. The secession commenced in the December, 1860, following the Presidential election in November, when South Carolina seceded, and between the 20th of December, 1860, and the 24th or 26th of February, 1861, seven States had seceded, had armed and elected a Congress, had chosen a President; and whereas there had been but one United States, one President, one Constitution, one Congress, one army, and one navy, your States were split in twain, and there was the spectacle presented to the world of a shattered empire, State at war with State, citizen with citizen, man with man, and even brother with brother. What has done this? Slavery! I take all the calamities in the aggregate that have befallen this nation during the last three years, and lay them to the account of slavery. Slavery has ever been the cause of whatever has troubled this nation or seriously menaced its integrity. It has always been a root of bitterness, springing up to trouble you; always a fly in your pot of ointment, always a black spot upon your escutcheon; always a dark cloud in the horizon, threatening to o'ercast the skies, and bring gloom upon your country. Slavery has done this.

But, my friends, I prefer to-day to leave matters which are mournful, and which cannot be touched upon without awakening feelings of poignant regret and anguish, and ask you to look upon that which has transpired which is of a nature to call forth our thankfulness and our mutual congratulations. During these two years and a half of fearful and bloody conflict, the work of emancipation has gone gloriously on. You may have wondered, many of you, and great complaints have been made, that England was not, in the beginning of this great struggle, found upon your side; that is to say, that there were not those utterances on the part of leading men of England, and on the part of the Abolitionists of England, that were of a nature to inspirit you in your conflict with the enemies of freedom at the South. Allow me to tell you, that from the first, the great mass of the people of England have been with you, so far as you have been true to the cause of the slave. But at the time when secession became an accomplished fact, and Mr. Lincoln was called upon, as President of the United States, to engage in civil strife with the seceded States of the South, some circumstances transpired of a very questionable character, and not of a nature to lend the anti-slavery public of Great Britain to entertain any great confidence in the purpose of the people of the North to make this war the means of uprooting slavery. Need I tell you how guarded was the language of Mr. Lincoln's Inaugural Address!—how he endeavored, by the most honied words, by the most seductive phrases, by the most solemn promises, to keep the Southern States from going out of the Union finally? He made the promise that he would cheerfully sign such an amendment of the Constitution as would forever deprive Congress of the power to interfere with slavery in the South. That was not a speech to inspire the Abolitionists of England with the idea that Mr. Lincoln meant to take advantage of the rebellion to secure the abolition of slavery.

Then, again, one of the first acts of Congress was to pass a series of resolutions expressly and emphatically declaring that there was no intention on the part of the Government to disturb the existing state of things at the South, or to alter the status of a single colored person in the Slave States.

Then, again, there were the letters sent by your Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, to your representatives at all the foreign courts, to the effect that they were not to allow the idea to get abroad that the war was going to effect a change in the institution of slavery. It would be a "thirty days" affair; and then it was to end in "sixty days"; and then in "ninety days"; and in any case, the struggle, however long it might endure, would make no change in regard to the institution of slavery. And then the conduct of your most distinguished Generals! You remember how one offered his command to the Governor of a slave State to put down an insurrection, if one took place there; how another ostentatiously published a general order, saying that he was prepared to crush a revolt among the slaves "with an iron hand"; how others sent back fugitive slaves to their masters, protected the property of slaveholders, and gave every evidence that men could give of their desire to preserve slavery as well as to restore the Union. But from the moment that Mr. Lincoln gave the first indication of an intention to avail himself of his rightful authority as President and commander-in-chief to wage war with slavery—from that moment, the great mass of the English people have been with you.

On the 7th of March, 1862, Mr. Lincoln sent a message to Congress, recommending the passage of a resolution, which he enclosed, which resolution in effect pledged the nation to an equitable indemnification of the planters of the Slave States if they would adopt measures either for gradual or immediate abolition. When I read that message, as I did at the breakfast table of a friend in Leeds, England, I said, "This is the beginning of the end." I went into town; I engaged the Music Hall; I delivered a lecture upon that message, and I did all possible justice both to the President and the people of this country; and I ventured to predict that that was the commencement of a series of measures that would eventuate in the extinction of slavery upon American soil. Ten thousand copies of this address were scattered in tract form in that country; and from that hour until I embarked for this country, I was ceaseless in going through the country, and endeavoring to awaken the people of England to a liberal, active sympathy for the cause which you are maintaining here.

Well, since that time, a series of measures has passed through your two houses of legislation, and received the sanction of your President, which has no parallel in the history of human legislation. Just look back, my friends, a little while, and when you have taken your retrospect, let your hearts be glad, and gird up your loins for the accomplishment of the work which yet remains to be done. What was the pivot upon which your last Presidential election turned? It was upon the question of allowing slavery to go into the territories—those sixteen hundred thousand square miles of northwestern territory which you desired to preserve to freedom and free labor, but upon which Slavery had cast a covetous eye, as the Jewish monarch did upon Naboth's vineyard. Well, how has that question been settled? Why, an act has been passed by your Legislature at Washington, securing that vast territory forever to freedom, and to freedom alone; and it remains to be the heritage of millions upon millions, who, when they are ploughing up that fertile soil and gathering rich harvests from its bosom, shall bless the name of Abraham Lincoln for the great measure that rescued that territory from slavery. (Loud applause.)

When I was last among you, what was the state of things in Washington? Why, it was a seat of the domestic slave trade, and it had a permanent population of slaves. It was full of slave prisons, slave pens, slave auction marts, slave coffles, and slave vessels at the port of Alexandria. What is the state of

Washington to-day? Not a slave to be found; not a slave prison; not a slave auction-block; not a slave coffle; not a trace of slavery. What is the status of every colored man in Washington at this hour? He who was a chattel is a man; and more than a man, a citizen; and more than a citizen, qualified to be a citizen soldier. Aye, all distinctions of color have been obliterated; and now within the ten miles square, the seat of your national government, the horse cars that ply daily and hourly in all parts of the District carry passengers without distinction of color, thus giving to the world at last that noble spectacle, for which we have so long looked, of a government at Washington neither disgraced by unchristian prejudice nor practising the inhuman institution of slavery. (Applause.) Why, only four or five days ago, that most respectable copperhead journal in New York, called the *Day Book*, went into a fit, or, at all events, into something very like hysterics, in consequence of something that had been done in Washington, which, it said, had polluted the White House and its environs; something which had made Mr. Lincoln infamous in the eyes of his country, disqualified him for the office which he filled, &c. &c. What was the sin which Mr. Lincoln had committed? What act had he done by which he had desecrated the White House, polluted the grounds around it, and rendered himself unworthy of the office to which he was elected? Why, Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of its forces, and occupant of right of the White House at Washington, had actually given his consent that certain colored Sunday schools in Washington might come within the grounds of the Presidential mansion on the 4th of July, to enjoy a pic-nic! (Laughter.) But more than that, said the *Day Book*: not only did he grant the grounds, but he said, "I will come in amongst you, and have some enjoyment with you." (Applause.) I say, God bless Abraham Lincoln for that! (Applause.) I do not think the institutions of your country have much to suffer from a congregation of picnicking colored children. I believe that upon no event in your history has the eye of God ever looked with greater satisfaction than upon that gathering of colored children in the grounds of the Presidential mansion in Washington, upon the 4th of July. I say it was a grander day, that 4th of July, than the 4th of July, 1776. Then you were struggling for independence for yourselves; now you declare before Heaven that you are in favor of liberty for all.

Well, my friends, what more? Why, time would fail to tell the deeds that have been done in the direction of emancipation during the last two years and a half. What about the slave trade? New York formerly fitted out forty vessels for the African slave trade. Of course, they got fraudulent papers. Of course, they did not clear for the coast of Africa. O, no; they got papers as though they were bound upon an honest voyage; but they were known to be slavers; their names were published constantly in the New York *Evening Post*, the *Tribune*, and other papers. But they got their papers, and then at the Cape de Verds they put in their false decks, and all the other hellish paraphernalia of the slave trade, proceeded to the coast of Africa, and plundered that unhappy continent of her children, and then set sail for Cuba or some other of the slave markets that disgrace this western part of the world. Now, all that is at an end; New York is clear from this stain; and the Government, to prove its detestation of slave trading, has executed a slave trader upon a gibbet, and refused to extend to him the clemency which is the prerogative of the Chief Magistrate. And what of the internal slave trade?—a trade, in my judgment, almost as infamous as the African slave trade; that breeding of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and the border States generally, for sale at the South. It is annihilated; and now, even if the Union should be restored with slavery in it, while the present laws of Congress stand, there can be no inter-State slave trade.

Then comes that glorious Proclamation of the first of January, 1863, which will cause Mr. Lincoln's name to go down to posterity amongst those few consecrated names of men who have used human power for human good, and have ennobled the station to which they were lifted by exercising the power it gave them in the cause of humanity.

I might come down, and recapitulate still other measures. For instance, that great measure of the enrolment of colored soldiers; so that at this hour, while I am speaking, 150,000 of this once despised race wear the United States uniform, receive the United States pay, and are serving the United States in the South, and nobly devoting their blood and lives, if necessary, in the cause for which you are contending. And let me not forget one of the latest acts of your National Legislature—that erasure from the statute-book of this country of that audacious and impious and execrable Fugitive Slave law. When I was last amongst you, all New England was a hunting-ground, over which two-legged wolves were always prowling for their pray. Kidnappers came up from the South, got their warrants endorsed by Commissioners here at the North, and dragged the fugitive slave, aye, even out of the sanctuaries of New England. That day is gone by. No more will the court-house of Boston be hung in chains; no more will such scenes be exhibited in the Puritan city of Boston as have been witnessed by some by whom I am surrounded to-day.

My friends, let me congratulate you that these events have taken place. Now we have a history in common. You have had a glory all your own, and my country has had a glory all her own. You were first in the order of time. Your glory consisted in this: that in 1776 you published to the world your Declaration of Independence, and in that Declaration asserted, as a self-evident truth, that God had created all men free and equal. That was your glory. That it was that made the expectant nations stand to catch by turns the torch that you had lighted. Our glory has consisted, for the last thirty years, not in the extent of our dominions, not in the invincible character of our arms, not in our unbounded wealth, nor our industrial arts—in nothing of this sort; but in this, that we did that which you declared to be right, but forgot to do. We recognized in acts what you had declared in words; and perhaps the purest and brightest lustre belonging to the character of the country of which I am a native and a subject is this—that thirty years ago she "unloosed the bands of wickedness, opened the prison doors," and sent Wilberforce up to heaven with the broken chains of nearly a million of slaves in his hands. And your glory will be hereafter, not so much in this, that you declared all men free and equal, but that, years after that Declaration was made, you put those words into practice, and carried out in deed that which you had previously asserted as a self-evident truth.

My friends, my hope and prayer is that this great work may soon be absolutely accomplished. There is much remaining for you to do, and nothing should be considered as done while aught remains to be done. You yet have slaves amongst you; you yet have hosts of men who are battling for the defence of slavery, for the preservation and for the future establishment or reëstablishment of slavery. You have got to subdue these domestic foes; you have got to uproot, to annihilate that Slave Oligarchy which has hitherto dominated over this nation; and when they shall have been swept from the face of the land, or rendered innocuous by the destruction of that slavery which they have hitherto lived only to support, from that moment you will commence a new and infinitely more glorious and illustrious history than that which belongs to you at present.

My friends, I esteem it a great privilege to be amongst you to-day, and to mingle my congratulations with yours at the prospects that lie before you. I thank you for the testimony that has been borne, through the lips of your Chairman, to the credit of my own country; and I thank him and you for the tribute you have been pleased to pay to me, as a very humble laborer in that work which was accomplished thirty years ago. I can only say, in taking my seat, that I trust you will soon be able here, and all over the country, to celebrate the utter destruction of slavery in your own country, so that through all coming time, England the mother and America the daughter may go hand in hand together in the great work of propagating throughout the world those sublime principles which lie at the foundation of man's independence and freedom, and of the prosperity and glory of nations. Together may we go forth, conquering and to conquer, until the car of Liberty shall make the circuit of the globe, and grind to powder, beneath its triumphant wheels, every institution opposed either to the honor of God or the interests or liberty of men. (Loud applause.)

A collection was then taken up, after which the meeting adjourned.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. No. XIII.

New York, July 28, 1864.

To the Editor of The Liberator:

My empty pigeon-hole is a forcible reminder that the fortnight has not furnished a single topic except the heat, upon which to build this customary letter. To be sure, Mr. Greeley, from that constitutional timidity and horror of bloodshed which have made his course in these inevitable war times so tortuous, did lend ear with foolish eagerness to a peace proposal from over the border; did run to Niagara with an alacrity hardly to be justified, unless by a desire to escape the drought; and did return, flea in ear, deploring the loss of a good chance at adjustment. "Edmund Kirke," too, about the same time, approached still nearer the Confederate authorities by a visit to Richmond, with a similar design. Both these unseemly and uncalled-for undertakings having proved barren, (thanks to the good sense of Mr. Lincoln and the persistent diabolism of Jeff. Davis,) I shall dexterously refer the whole subject to the heat by likening it to the seed which fell upon stony places, and which, when the sun was up, was scorched, and withered away. The real door to peace, meanwhile, was opened by Sherman at Atlanta, and what a cooling draught came up (strange anomaly!) from the heart of the Southern country to the fever-parched North! If any activity is to be indulged in while such weather continues, it ought certainly not to go to waste, as it must and will if any one bestirs himself upon any other principle than that Victory is Peace, and that the only promises which we can safely accept from rebels are those which we are in a condition to enforce.

You know it is sometimes disputed whether heat exists in external objects or in our own sensation; and sure it is that, by a judicious contrast of temperatures, our feelings may be played upon in a manner to belie the thermometer. So I have been perceptibly cooler from witnessing the testy, red-faced efforts of the *Commonwealth* to embroil itself with the *Liberator*, of which the latest sample was its editorial in its issue of the 22d. The charge which you made against it, of unfairness in publishing Mr. Phillips's letter to the *Independent* without annexing Mr. Tilton's reply, has seriously disturbed the *Commonwealth*, which both repels it and at the same time (needless task) attempts to meet in advance a similar complaint from you in regard to Prof. Newman. It lacks the discrimination to perceive that the uniform practice of the *Liberator* to print articles on both sides of the great national question is a very different thing from the *audi alteram partem* of a particular discussion. It may choose or not, of course, as it pleases, to inculcate radical views by direct precept alone, or by joining this with that indirect teaching which comes of letting our enemy expose his own villany; but no paper which cares more for truth than it does for its own views and aims will be content to transfer to its columns a controversy of which it means to suppress one half. This is a sufficient answer to a full column of argument by the *Commonwealth* to the contrary—a column so weak that it must have collapsed but for the sundry side issues employed to the fullest extent. Especially indignant is it at being styled by you a "Fremont organ," by which, I take it, you meant not a subsidized press, but simply one whose weight was bestowed in the direction of Cleveland. "Very little sympathy" has it for that movement; yet it welcomes, and in many instances adopts and sharpens the thrusts of the Radical Democracy against the Administration, and assists that faction just as far as it can without training under its banner. "As a general thing," says the *Commonwealth*, "we prefer that our readers shall seek their Copperheadism (if they want any) in the *Courier*." But the circulation of the *Commonwealth* is not confined to New England, while that of the *Courier*, happily, is. May not we, then, *Commonwealth*, your New York readers, consult the *World* for Copperheadism? And if we do, pray tell us what we shall think of finding there, with flaming head and exultant eulogy, by way of attracting notice, Mr. Phillips's letter to the *Independent* WITHOUT Mr. Tilton's rejoinder? Must we choke a comparison which might seem odious—if this be Copperheadism in the *World*, what is it in the *Commonwealth*? And if the *World* publishes that letter out of sheer sympathy and collusion with the Fremont intrigue, is it harsh to suspect the *Commonwealth* of being a Fremont organ also?

The assumption that every one who reads Prof. Newman's letter will be qualified to anticipate your reply from a general knowledge of your sentiments, is almost too puerile to notice, and by no means apologizes for a second omission to give fair play. Why meddle in the debate at all, unless reconciled to allow both sides a hearing, and confident that the cause of truth will not suffer from the double presentation? The *Commonwealth* is singularly obfuscated in regard to your manifestly just assertion, that men in office are to be judged, *while there*, not by an abstract rule of duty, but by their oaths, their responsibilities, and their possibilities. This to an American is the simplest truism, but perhaps it needs to be demonstrated to a journal which is amenable to British influence. It would have been absurd to reproach Buchanan, *as President*, with any act of his which was conformable to the national interpretation of the Constitution, proslavery though that was, and justly, (for the *Commonwealth* knows better than to insinuate that the instrument it seeks to amend is guiltless toward liberty.) Nor can it be shown that the Abolitionists ever condemned him for being more than superserviceable to slavery, and willing and ready to extend its sway illegally. Mr. Lincoln took his oath of office with a resolution to abide by it—a resolution honorable in itself, so long as he was able to endure the oath. He may have kept some of his scruples too long; the late Congress had some of which it should have been ashamed; but he is none the less to be respected for his scruples, and for his fidelity to them. Proper criticism will labor to clear his mind of false or obsolete notions, but as a man, his conscience will not be found fault with, nor as a President, his obedience to the supposed requirements of his place. The *Commonwealth* says, if Mr. Lincoln is not pro-slavery, he is slow, and the accusation may rest; but will that paper tell us what it purposes to do? It is not a Fremont organ, nor a Vallandigham organ, nor a Lincoln organ. Well, where does it stand? It is sore in spirit, by turns melancholy and savage, refuses to be reckoned a supporter of anybody, and seeks to make its neighbors as uncomfortable as itself. Such conduct will receive its appropriate stamp from others, whatever may be the name or no-name which the *Commonwealth* selects for it. It means now "anti-Lincoln," and next November it will mean "anti-loyal." In that day of two parties, and only two, the *Commonwealth* must either show its hand for the party of freedom, loyalty, unity, with Abraham Lincoln at its head, or unite itself with the allies of the rebellion. The sooner it quits the position of a dog-in-the-manger neutral, the better. Mr. Lincoln's performances have exceeded his party promises in 1860; let the *Commonwealth* and the nation exert themselves to secure the fulfilment of the voluntary promise under which the President enters the new campaign—the unqualified, eternal abolition of slavery.

I hope not everybody failed to see the point of the *Commonwealth's* inserting, in a special "Refuge," the letter of Postmaster Blair to you. It is a feeble retort for your consigning to the pillory the *animus*, not necessarily pro-slavery, of a late article from that paper. But 'twould puzzle a conjurer to discover what there is reprehensible in a man, whose record has been faulty in the public estimation, seeking to prove himself not so black as he is painted. The *Commonwealth*, in effect, denies Mr. Blair a chance to exculpate himself, by branding the effort to be worthy of an oppressor. Is this another instance of its idea of fair play? The question of sincerity is not at issue. Nobody is bound to believe the Postmaster's statements; but if they are true, shall we not rejoice, and alter our judgment of him? and if they are false, can we not equally rejoice that he feels obliged to assume an alien virtue? In the first case, we but afford an opportunity for justice to be done to one who has been misrepresented; in the second, we make a new notch on the high-water stake.

I gladly exchange the Refuge of Oppression for the Refuge of the Refrigerator.

M. du Pays.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE GERMAN REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

A special meeting of the German Republican Central Committee was held in New York on Friday at the Headquarters of the Committee, No. 23 Third avenue, H. Raster, Esq. in the chair, and Messrs. Gustavus Levy and G. Manshot, Secretaries. Mr. Remak reported the following resolutions from the Executive Committee, which, having been put, were carried unanimously:

Resolved, That we, the German Republicans of the City and the County of New York, cheerfully recognize in the platform adopted by the Baltimore Convention a legitimate development of the main principle embodied in the Chicago platform of 1860, viz: that freedom is national, and ought to prevail wherever the national authority is by the Federal statutes, or has become by the laws of war, paramount to all local jurisdiction.

Resolved, That we utterly reject, as a wilful adulteration of true Radicalism, the mongrel platform got up at Cleveland by the unholy alliance of Democratic traitors and sore-headed deserters from the ranks of the Republican party; and that, knowing the sentiments of the freedom-loving citizens of German birth, we assert that only an exceedingly small and insignificant fraction of their number have been seduced by designing demagogues to join in that unholy alliance.

Resolved, That in the self-evident lie of the Cleveland platform, that "Slavery is dead," we see a shameful compromise between a portion of those Radicals who, for years, have been denouncing the present Administration on the ground of its not "dealing a death-blow to Slavery," and the Democratic traitors who desire to screen Slavery from all the blows that, in the course of the war, the Nation in self-defence, might deal it; and that no party can be supposed honestly and heartily to desire the extinction of Slavery which does not acknowledge the patent fact that Slavery is not only the source of, but, unhappily, still gives vitality and strength to, the Rebellion.

Resolved, That while heartily endorsing the Baltimore platform as a true and logical exposition of Republican sentiments as far as it goes, we deeply deplore the policy of expediency which has excluded from that platform a recognition of the correctness of the principle underlying the confiscation law, as interpreted by Judge Underwood of Virginia; and that we shall deem the task of the Republican party not yet accomplished until the reconstruction of the Rebel States shall be based upon the idea of creating out of the confiscated landed estates of the rebels, homesteads of a population of independent freeholders.

Resolved, That in accepting as our candidates the nominees of the Baltimore Convention, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, we desire to express our belief in their honesty of purpose and their faithfulness to the cause of freedom, how muchsoever most of us may doubt the expediency or the correctness in principle of some measures adopted by the present Administration.

Resolved, That in our belief, the action of the Baltimore Convention in admitting the Missouri Radical delegation, coupled with the adoption of the sixth section of the platform, could not, and certainly ought not to have been misunderstood; that the Convention has undoubtedly meant to disapprove of all those efforts, known as the "Kentucky policy," at temporizing and compromising with the Pro Slavery sham-loyalists of the Border States; and that any persistence in that unfortunate policy, while it would run directly against the plainly-expressed wishes of the Baltimore Convention, could not but dampen the ardor and enthusiasm with which all firm and true upholders of freedom would like to enter the Presidential campaign.

Resolved, That the Baltimore Convention, in endorsing the traditional policy of this *Government* in regard to the efforts of foreign powers to destroy republican governments on the American continent, has meant to erect a beacon by which this *Administration* should steer its course of foreign policy, in order to remain at harmony with the instincts and desires of the people.

Resolved, That it is the unqualified sentiment of the German Republicans, as it was of the Baltimore Convention, that no man ought to be retained in office, and especially not in the highest office under the government, who does not fully sympathize with the sentiments and principles of the true loyalists, as represented at Baltimore; and that the harmony of action in the administration of the country, as desired by the same popular body that nominated Abraham Lincoln for reëlection, should be interpreted in the light of the action of that body in the admission of the Missouri delegates.

THE COLORED MASS MEETING.

The following preamble and resolutions were strongly advocated in an eloquent speech by Prof. A. M. Green, and were afterwards unanimously adopted by the Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens, held at Sansom street Hall, in Philadelphia, on Tuesday evening, 26th ultimo:—

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, The colored people of the State of Pennsylvania are again called upon to give aid and sympathy in the National cause, and assist by every means in their power in crushing out the slaveholders' rebellion; and

Whereas, We are called upon to enlist for one hundred days' service to assist in driving the rebel invaders from the now loyal and free soil of Maryland, *so far as the expressed will of her people is known through their State Convention*; and

Whereas, We declare now, as we declared at the beginning of the war, that there could be no neutral ground in this great struggle, but that all are alike bound in duty to God, to themselves, and to the cause of justice, to exert every influence within their reach on the side of liberty and justice; and

Whereas, We have, in accordance with the above declarations, surrounded with a heinous prejudice, given all our aid and sympathy to the national cause, and in the face of fearful *opposition* have swelled the ranks of the Union by tens of thousands of its best and most efficient troops, and are still no less determined to give aid and comfort to the national cause, though we feel sore in many respects in consequence of the delinquency from some cause in regard to doing full justice to our soldiers in the field; therefore,

1. Resolved, That we reiterate our sentiments of devotion and loyalty to the Government of the United States, and our implicit confidence and faith in the God of Battles, who is no less the God of Truth and Justice; and who has promised to visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate Him, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Him, and keep His commandments.

2. Resolved, That the sacrifices made by friends and relations of our colored soldiers in the field, and the devotion to principle and unyielding tenacity with which these soldiers prosecute their mission to the field of mortal strife for the cause of liberty and our national triumph over the rebellious slaveholders, call for better treatment towards them from the Federal Government, and should entitle us to just treatment at the hands of our fellow-citizens, whose proper places are filled by our self-sacrificing brothers, fathers, husbands, and kindred.

3. Resolved, That however much we may be compelled to suffer from the determination manifest in all directions to force and fasten upon us a state of inferiority, even denying us promotion for meritorious conduct of the most brilliant evidence of capacity and heroism on the field of battle, yet we shall forever reject this ungenerous fiat of our would-be superiors, and are determined from this time forward to discountenance and forever protest against this species of prejudice and inhumanity, the lingering relict of the defunct system of American slavery.

4. Resolved, That we look upon the establishment of a military academy in our midst, excluding colored men from its benefits as an organization, (its avowed *objects being to prepare officers for command of colored regiments*,) as one of the surest and best ways of continuing this prejudice, and fostering the idea that colored men, even after months of active service in the field, may not become competent to command either companies or regiments of their own color.

5. Resolved, That there can be no good reason offered why colored men, especially those who have proved their availability in the field, may not be promoted to command colored troops, rather than civilians, many of whom are taken from the obscure and most humble walks of life, who are appointed from and by the influence of the Free Military Academy of this city, and who are constantly held up to us as making great sacrifices, and performing acts of the greatest condescension in accepting these positions in colored regiments.

6. Resolved, That our duty to those men, *our brethren who are enlisted through our influence*, demands that we should not yield this point without an emphatic protest against its injustice to them, and its insulting endorsement of the old dogma of negro inferiority.

7. Resolved, That considered in the light of official reports from several battle-fields, we have now veteran colored troops, some of them deserving the highest acknowledgments from the nation, and while we battle for the country, and continue to swell the ranks of the army, we are determined to ask for those veterans the same treatment, promotion and emoluments that other veterans receive from the same *development* that patriotism and military genius and capacity.

8. Resolved, That we fail to see the necessity of a school of several hundred applicants for the command of colored regiments, while as many thousand colored men are denied the privilege and benefit of a law which we believe entitles them to the same positions thus sought; and we doubt the possibility of a change in this respect while this large surplus of men can be kept on hand by the Free Military Academy.

9. Resolved, That we sincerely regret that, in the formation of the Supervisory Committee of this city for recruiting colored men, so many of our old tried and familiar friends are, from some cause, not known as connected with the movement; while men little known to us except for their semi-concealed prejudice against negro freedom, and their open and avowed opposition to our political enfranchisement, are constantly before us as our leaders, and our only hope of reaching a position to serve our cause and the cause of our country.

10. Resolved, That we cannot but doubt the sincerity of the professions of men whose acts in many respects are at variance with their pretensions, and at war with the principles we earnestly endeavor to propagate and subserve.

11. That the present state of the country, together with the claims of humanity and universal freedom, and the favorable developments of the providence of God, pointing to the liberation and enfranchisement of our race, demand of the colored people of these United States to be united in council, labor, and faith; and in accordance with said belief, we do heartily concur in the call of a National Convention of the colored citizens of the United States, to assemble on the 4th day of October, 1864, in the city of New York, then and there to consider the various important objects set forth in the call of said Convention.

THE VACANCY FILLED.

Lynn, July 28, 1864.

Dear Garrison:

The letter of George W. Simonds in your paper of the 22d inst., ordering the discontinuance of his *Liberator*, has accomplished one good object. It has reminded me of the duty of *renewing my subscription to it*—a duty which would not have been so long neglected were it not for the fact that a copy is taken in my family, which I have the opportunity of reading. I now deem it not only a duty but a *privilege* to fill up the gap thus made in the ranks of its supporters by one who seems to have read it for twenty-eight years to little advantage, having in all that time imbibed so little of the truly catholic and tolerant spirit which you have ever exhibited in its columns, in allowing the largest measure of liberty for the expression of opinions diverse from your own.

Allow me to add that, much as I respect the integrity and judgment of our friend Phillips, and of other anti-slavery friends who differ from you on the subject of the ensuing Presidential election, nevertheless, it seems clear to me that the course which you have taken is the one best calculated to promote the objects which every true Abolitionist must have at heart.

I enclose the amount of one year's subscription, which you will please allow to commence at the time when that of Mr. Simonds ended.

Truly, your friend, WM. BASSETT.

First of August at Abington. We devote the principal portion of our inside form to a report of the speech made by George Thompson, Esq. at the Abington celebration of the thirty-fourth anniversary of British West India Emancipation, on Monday last, (as phonographically reported for the *Liberator* by J. M. W. Yerrinton, Esq.)—assured that our readers will be gratified in giving the speech a careful perusal, together with the handsome introductory remarks by the President of the Day, Hon. Levi Reed of Abington. All the other speeches and exercises of the occasion gave great satisfaction to the numerous company brought together, notwithstanding the intensely sultry state of the weather.

The colored citizens of New York and vicinity on Monday held their annual celebration of West India Emancipation, and the recent progress of Emancipation in this country. Picnics upon a large scale were held at Lefferts and Myrtle avenue Parks, Brooklyn, and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Sella Martin and others. Not less than 5,000 persons participated in the exercises and amusements, and the proceedings were conducted in the most orderly manner.

Colored Pupils in the Boston Schools. At the late examination, Elizabeth Norton Smith of the Wells School received a Franklin Medal, and Catherine E. Snowden of the Bowdoin School a diploma. Thomas Downing has passed to the English High School.

Imogen Howard, a last year's graduate of the Wells School, and Elizabeth Norton (as above) are both now in the Normal School.

In Cambridgeport, Virginia Molineaux has been admitted to the High School.

☞ A notice of Rev. L. A. Sawyer's new work on Mark is unavoidably excluded this week, but shall be given in our next number.

TREMENDOUS EXPLOSION AND DESPERATE CONFLICT AT PETERSBURG.

On the 30th ult., Gen. Grant sprang a formidable mine which he had been preparing several weeks previous, containing six tons of powder! A terrific concussion followed, blowing up a strong rebel work, and sending it in fragments high into the air, destroying an almost entire North Carolina regiment, burying cannon in the ruins—&c., &c. A bloody conflict ensued, hundreds of cannon belching fire and death on both sides—the loss on our side amounting to five thousand in killed, wounded and missing, and it was also very large on the rebel side. The particulars are of thrilling interest. The ground at first gained by us was subsequently lost. The colored regiments suffered fearfully in the loss of officers and men. In vain were the most gallant efforts made to capture Cemetery Hill, which would have placed Petersburg at the mercy of Gen. Grant; but the severity of the concentrated rebel fire was unendurable. The New York *Tribune* pertinently says:—

"The Associated Press telegram makes an effort to put the blame of failure on the negro troops, to whom, by their account, was entrusted the most difficult portion of the work. But it is clear enough the blame does *not* belong on the negroes. The position was assaulted first by white troops—when they had been repulsed, then by the negroes; so that both failed alike. And the losses, the enormous losses of the colored regiments, show beyond dispute that they fought bravely. Regiments coming out of action with 400 men killed and wounded are not to be charged with cowardice—except by Copperhead malignity, which nothing can ever modify on this question.

But suppose the negro troops had behaved badly. How many white regiments would have done better, going into action with the certainty that if taken prisoners they would be enslaved or murdered? When will the Government assert the negroes' rights as soldiers."

The interior of the exploded work presented a confused mass of earth, guns, camp equipage, and human bodies.

ANOTHER REBEL RAID INTO PENNSYLVANIA—BURNING OF CHAMBERSBURG.

Harrisburg, Pa., July 31.

Gen. McCausland was in command of the rebel troops when they burned Chambersburg. He made proclamation demanding $100,000 in gold. As of course it was impossible to comply, an order was issued to fire the Court House, Town Hall and Bank buildings. A strong breeze communicated the flames to the surrounding buildings. Parties of soldiers having sacked the several drug and chemical stores, manufactured turpentine balls which they threw in all directions, creating as many different flames, which soon united in one grand conflagation. Speedily the scene became appalling by the crackling and roaring of the flames and shrieks of terrified women. Panic-stricken and suffering children, with the pitiful appeals of the old and helpless, formed an indescribable scene of horror. Two hundred and sixty-five of the most valuable and elegant public and private dwellings were destroyed. The town was fired at about 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

The rebels remained just long enough to see the flames get under proper headway, when an alarm was given that Averill was approaching the town. Instantly the freebooter was in his saddle, and hurriedly took the St. Thomas road, with Averill in pursuit.

A train heavily laden with commissary stores was dispatched from this city to Chambersburg to relieve the present wants of homeless women and children who now crowd the surrounding fields and woods.

Many residences of prominent citizens in the outskirts of the town were burned. Among others that of Col. McClure, with his stables and outhouses.

The loss is estimated at one million of dollars.

The Fremont Movement. *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, which was one of the early espousers of the Cleveland "Free Democracy," and warmly advocated Fremont's election, has become convinced that the movement "*now is in practical alliance with the copperhead tacticians, and combining with them actively in restoring their most pernicious representatives to popular esteem.*" Any one who remembers how the Cleveland movement was petted and nursed and puffed by such papers as the New York *World*, the Chicago *Times*, the Boston *Courier*, and kindred sheets, will not be surprised at the above confession. The bantling has come home and been adopted by its true and lawful parents. The *Spirit of the Times*, however, thinks Fremont is innocent in the matter; that his cause has been betrayed through the imprudence of its orators and organs, and in the following paragraph, with which the article closes, intimates that he had better take himself out of the way:—

"It is no reflection on Fremont's sagacity that he has not yet detected the bearing which his imprudent or conniving orators have given to his movement; but his aroused intelligence cannot fail to see it now; and he has yet plenty of margin to vindicate the lofty declaration of his letter, that his main object is not to advance himself, but to secure a worthy administration to the country. To use an expressive, though a common phrase, he has not the ghost of a chance for the Chicago nomination; and *the present attitude of the organization is simply that of an auxiliary to the advancement of McClellan*. The worst enemy General Fremont has on earth would not venture to assume that such a *role* is worthy his adoption and performance."

☞ The following comes naturally from the pen of Thurlow Weed. In an article on the retirement of Secretary Chase, he says:—

"There are other and grave reasons for rejoicing that Mr. Chase is out of the Cabinet. He *Abolitionized* that Cabinet; and if our Government should be overthrown and our Union severed, he, as the chief of a class to which Sumner, Greeley, Phillips, &c., &c., belong, will be responsible for the calamity—directly responsible—for they have perverted the war which should have been waged against *Rebellion* into a war for *Abolition*, lacking the wisdom to perceive that the whole North could be united against Rebellion, while upon their *Abolition* programme the people are divided. In other words, if wiser men had ruled, Rebellion would have *divided* the South and *united* the North. As it is, the South is intensely UNITED while the North is unhappily divided."

This comes from the fossilated pro-slavery standpoint of an old man who seems to have reached his second childhood.

☞ As an interesting item, we clip the following from the Quebec *Mercury* (Southernly disposed):

"From the moment that Lincoln put forth his celebrated Proclamation, and the blot of slavery was taken from the Federal soil of the capital of the Union, the policy of abolition, as a military necessity, has been gaining ground inch by inch, and all appearances indicate that the war will eventually, and after long delay, terminate, *if persevered in unto the end*, by the emancipation of the negro population. Such a result would prevent any trouble between the States and Canada as to fugitive slaves, it would prevent any American of the South wanting Cuba or Mexico, and consequently any American of the North wanting Canada and the sister Colonies as an offset. It would benefit our Colonial brethren of the East and West Indies, and unite America, England and the whole European continent in one bond against slavery, which would soon sweep the system from Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian soils, and ultimately overthrow it even in its native home, in now benighted Africa."

Here, then, after all, is the true secret of success—devotion to freedom! Let it be followed to the end.

Saved from the Wreck and out with Flying Colors. The only one who has been saved from the wreck of the late puerile peace negotiations at Niagara is Colorado Jewett. He has taken the wind out of the sails of Old Abe, Greeley, George Sanders, and the rest, and has alone come out with flying colors. We received invitations again and again, as an influential potentate, to join in this conference; but we declined participating therein, having better business to attend to, and always selecting our company when we go anywhere. Jewett has succeeded admirably in his diplomatic scheme, the art of which he learned in European courts—pretending one thing and meaning another. He makes a great fuss about diplomacy, pretends to arrange the destiny of empires, kingdoms and republics, and all the while has but one object in view—the advertising of his mythical gold mines and mountains in Colorado and elsewhere, and the sale of stock therein. As an "intermediary" in almost any business, the services of Jewett are invaluable. As a doctor of international comity and peace, he deserves a degree; but in this case the doctor, instead of the medicine, should be well shaken before taken.—*New York Herald.*

☞ There can surely be no harm in suggesting a further investigation of the disposition of the "Confederacy" for peace, by the appointment of an immediate commission to the Clifton House of Stephen H. Branch, American Traveller Pratt, Colorado Jewett, the Count Joannes, Wemyss Jobson, and Chevalier Wykoff; these gentlemen to confer with the profound Sanders, and lay a report of their sage conclusions before the country at large. And since the precedent is established that any private personage may constitute himself a Peace Commissioner, either to Canada or Richmond, and thereby be enabled to enjoy himself, either at the Clifton House or at Richmond, after the manner of dignitaries on a visit, it is not at all unlikely that numerous professors of infinite "cheek" will take their respective jaunts this season in the direction of one place of the other.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture and attend Conventions during August and September in Illinois and Michigan and Northern Indiana.

Subjects—The Origin, Mission and Destiny of the American Republic. Shall the North be subjugated to Slavery and Slave Labor; or the South to Freedom and Free Labor? Shall the White Laborers of the Nation be made Slaves; or the Black Laborers be made Freemen? Man above his incidents, and never to be sacrificed to them. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Abolition and Prohibition. No Truce, no Peace, no Compromise with Slavery. Reverence for Human Beings the only Safeguard for Human Rights.

☞ AARON M. POWELL will lecture at

Peru, N. Y.,	Sunday,	Aug. 7.
Keeseville, N. Y.,	Tuesday,	" 9.
Jay, "	Wednesday,	" 10.
West Peru, "	Friday,	" 12.
Plattsburgh, "	Sunday,	" 14.
Burlington, Vt.,	Monday,	" 15.
Ferrisburgh, "	Tuesday,	" 16.
Vergennes, "	Wednesday,	" 17.
Moriah, N. Y.,	Thursday,	" 18.
Athol, "	Friday,	" 19.
Glens Falls, "	Sunday,	" 21.
Ballston, "	Tuesday,	" 23.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in Union Hall, Feltonville, on Sunday next, August 7, at half-past 1 and half-past 7 o'clock, P. M., on "The Mysteries of the War."

☞ HARRIET TUBMAN is now in Boston, on a brief visit, and is ready to communicate with any of her friends with regard to her remarkable experience at Port Royal during the past year, and the mission she has now in view. She will remain only a few days, and may be found at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street.

☞ PLACE WANTED.—A strong, healthy, colored young man, of about 23,—formerly a slave in Missouri,—lost a foot by freezing, was taken in charge by one of our Army-Surgeons, kindly cared for, and sent to Boston, where he has now been residing in the Surgeon's family ten months, rendering what domestic service he could,—is desirous of obtaining work in some place which will not require much walking; he would like to learn a shoemaker's trade, but is ready to engage in any occupation, suited to his condition, by which he may earn his living. He is represented as very intelligent, and recommended as entirely honest and reliable. Any person disposed to give employment to this young man is requested to apply as soon as possible to R. F. WALLCUT, at this office.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

The seventeenth Annual Term will commence Nov. 2, 1864, and continue seventeen weeks. Tuition fee for the courses of the six Professors and the Demonstrator, $65—free to students needing aid, wherever residing. For particulars, address the subscriber, at the College, No. 30 Canton street, Boston.

3w SAM'L GREGORY, M. D., Secretary.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 62 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED—In Cambridgeport, July 24, of enlargement of the heart, Mr. Edward B. Lawton, aged 45. The deceased has always borne an irreproachable character. Industry, love of literature, and attachment for home and family were conspicuous.

Born in New Bedford, and having been an appreciative recipient of its equal school rights system, he could not endure the proscription that until within the past few years blighted the educational prospects of colored children in Boston; hence he removed to Cambridgeport, where the consequent progress of his children proved to him and them an ample offset for the change.

The funeral was attended by a large concourse of friends sympathizing with his esteemed and bereaved widow, and the several sons and daughters. His remains were conveyed to the Woodlawn Cemetery. W. C. N.

Portrait of Mr. Garrison.

JOHNSTON'S Crayon Portrait of Mr. Garrison is of exhibition at the store of Williams & Everett, 234 Washington street, and elicits warm approval. It will be lithographed by Mr. Johnston, and published early in September. Price $1.50 per copy.

C. H. BRAINARD.

☞ Subscriptions received by R. F. Wallcut, Anti-Slavery office, 221 Washington street. July 29.

THE HUMAN VOICE indicative of character; Physiology of the Voice—bass, barytone, tenor, contralto, soprano; Male and Female Voices—what causes the difference? How to Cultivate the Voice; Stammering.

CLIMATE AND THE RACES—Northerners and Southerners compared; organic difference; quality, hardness, softness, fineness, coarseness; Carbon—its transformations; Natural Development; Pauper Children; Thieves Photographed; Right Position in Sleep; Vanity, Self-Praise; New Views of Physiognomy; The Face; Signs of Character; Love of the Eyes—in Phrenological Journal, Aug. No., 20 cts., or $2 a year. Newsmen have it.

FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

July 29. 2w

The True Temperance Platform.

BY R. T. TRALL, M. D.

THE best and most scientific temperance document ever published.

The errors of Temperance Reformers and the medical profession, and the effects of alcohol on plants, animals and man, are here for the first time plainly pointed out.

Price, per mail—paper, 60 cents; cloth, 85 cents.

MILLER & BROWNING,
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July 15. 3m

MR. AND MRS. D. MACK'S

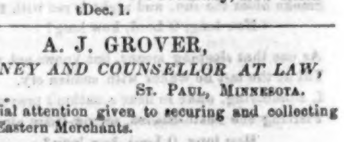
Family Boarding-School for Young Ladies,

At Orchard Hill, Belmont, Mass.

THE School will commence the last Monday of September.

Circulars and references when requested.

July 8. 3m



ALL interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 4, seven cents. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 now ready, 22 cents.

Address ANDREW J. GRAHAM,
491 Broadway, New York.

June 24. tDec. 1.

A. J. GROVER,

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,

St. Paul, Minnesota.

☞ Special attention given to securing and collecting claims for Eastern Merchants.

References:

Wendell Phillips, Esq., Boston.
A. L. Paine, Esq., Suffolk Bank, do.
Farwell, Field & Co., Chicago, Illinois.
Stevens & Barnum, Washington, D. C.

May 20. tf

IMPROVEMENT IN

Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER.
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

Poetry.

THE SISTERS.

I.

They were two sisters. One was fair,
With yellow lights in her wavy hair.

The other was dark, and in her eyes
Lurked the sultry fire of Southern skies.

They both had lands, these sisters two,
Broad in extent, and fair to view:

With towns and cities on hill and plain,
And rivers which flowed to greet the main.

The fields of the one with wheat and corn
Swayed in the breath of the wind at morn.

Her sons at the plough and anvil stood,
Or wielded the axe in the shady wood.

She built great ships that over the seas
Sped on the wings of the ocean breeze.

Fleets of these in her ports found room;
Her factories hummed with the busy loom.

There men and women, early and late,
Labored to earn the bread they ate.

Her children flocked to her schools to learn
Knowledge profound and Wisdom stern.

In the autumn months she stood in the field
Laden with fruits of the harvest yield.

In granaries built through long years of peace,
She gathered the wealth of the earth's increase.

And the winds which blew from her snowy hills
Were not more free than her people's wills.

II.

The swelling slopes of the other shone white
With cotton blooms in the hot sun's light.

Under the shade of ancestral trees
Her sons and daughters lived at ease.

Her dusky bondman, stalwart and strong,
Toiled in the field the whole day long.

Hard and sinewy were his hands,
His muscles were like to iron bands.

A modern Samson in strength was he,
Shorn of his glorious liberty.

Sometimes a patient song of toil
Fell from his lips as he tilled the soil.

Sometimes at night his yearning eyes
Turned to a star in the Polar skies.

And a hungry longing for Freedom gave
Wings to the feet of the dusky slave.

But pitiless bloodhounds on his track
With their deep-mouthed bayings drove him back.

In the foul market-place he stood,
The bondman sullen and stern of mood,

And like a chattel was bought and sold—
A human being for so much gold—

Down the river;—afar on its wave;
What are wife and child to the slave?

O God! that such things ever had been,
And gained the sanction of Christian men!

III.

Then rose on the air a sudden cry,
Like thunder rolling along the sky.

From the burning lips of the North it came,
Rebuking her sister's sin and shame.

Stronger the dread tornado blew,
Darker the gathering tempest grew.

In senate chamber and halls of state
Long and loud was the hot debate.

Then the Northern sister called to her side
A man for his prudence noted wide.

But she of the South with fierce replies
Flashed defiance out of her eyes.

The shouts of "War!" on the winds went forth—
"War!" from the South, "War!" from the North.

The trumpets blew, and the loud drums beat;
The dumb earth quaked with the tread of feet.

To-day the cannon thunder loud;
And yonder see the battle-cloud!

To-day earth's altar-steps are red
With precious blood of heroes shed.

Look on those swelling mounds that rise—
These are a nation's SACRIFICE.

May it atone in God's just sight,
And wash our garments snowy white,

And kindle in the East a ray,
The dawn of a broader, purer day!

—*Harper's Monthly for July.*

LINES FOR THE TIMES.

O welcome the fire, pure and fervent,
That blows to the welding white heat,
And welcome the master, or servant,
Who brings us the weapons complete,

To cut down the tares and the thistles
That grow in the garden of God;
Where boldly a noisome crop bristles
To cumber and plunder the sod.

And there grows that vile plant, the rankest,
Tainting leagues of the soil and the sea;
With roots under-running the dankest
That thrive in the land of the free.

'Tis slavery! here struggling and stunted,
There strong as a banyan we see;
Keen weapons have often been blunted
While smiting the sturdy old tree.

But truth-tempered tools are still forging,—
Bright spade and stout wedge for the helve;
Now at the old trunk they are charging,
And down to the root they will delve.

HOW LONG?

A Poem sent to the Brooklyn Sanitary Fair by O. W. Holmes, in reply to a request to furnish his autograph:—

Peace! Shall we ever hear that blissful sound,
And see the raging steeds of war unbound?
Our streams run blood, our fields are crimson mire,
Smoke hides the sun, and night is red with fire—
How long, O Lord, how long?

As one that sleeping moans, but knows not why,
Till at the last he wakes with sudden cry,
I, slumbering, wake to hear a nation's prayer
Piercing the heath-chilled, sorrow-laden air—
How long, O Lord, how long?

Patience! The fire must burn the root of shame;
The tears of anguished souls must quench the flame:
God led His people to the promised shore
Through the long desert. We will ask no more.
How long, O Lord, how long?

OWEN LOVEJOY.

Come, stand the nearest to thy country's sire,
Thou fearless man of incorruptible heart;
Well worthy universal praise thou art;
And 'twill be thine when slumbers party ire,
Raised by the voice of freemen to a height
Sublimer far than kings by birth may claim.
Thy stern, unselfish spirit dared the right,
And battled 'gainst the wrong; thy holiest aim
Was freedom in the largest sense, despite
Misconstrued motives and unmeasured blame.
Above disguise; in purpose firm and pure;
Just to opposers, and to friends sincere,
Thy worth shall with thy country's name endure,
And greener grow thy fame through every coming year.

St. Charles Co., Mo., June 23, 1868. D.

INVOCATION.

Spare, Lord, the thoughtless; guide the blind;
Till man no more shall deem it just
To live by forging chains to bind
His weaker brother in the dust.

The Liberator.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

At a meeting held in Joy street church, July 5th, a report of which appears in the *Anglo-African* of the 16th, some developments were made which have occasioned so much regret and mortification to many who did not happen to be present, that I feel it due to them, as also to those anti-slavery friends who have expressed surprise at said proceedings, that some statement should be submitted, revealing more definitely the facts in the case than the report presents them.

A series of resolutions was presented, embracing a variety of topics; among them, strictures upon the Administration for neglecting the claims of colored Americans, soldiers and others—tributes to Hon. J. R. Giddings and Hon. Owen Lovejoy, &c. &c. Some of these were amenable to criticism, but, nevertheless, met with general acceptance; but the last clause in the following resolution was objected to as gratuitous, and calculated to do more harm than good:—

Resolved, That we hold in grateful remembrance Hon. Charles Sumner, Hon. Henry Wilson, Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania, with their noble coadjutors in Congress; also, Gov. John A. Andrew, and the worthy pioneers in the Anti-Slavery cause, Messrs. Garrison and Phillips, and their faithful associates; *and especially is Mr. Phillips entitled to our gratitude for his consistent devotion to our cause, even in this trying hour of temptation.*

On a motion made to strike out this last clause, remarks were made in substance as follows: That while to an ordinary observer there might not appear any cause of objection to its phraseology, yet, taken in connection with the fact that the attention of most persons would be at once directed to the recent Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, and the wide difference of opinion on its platform, the implied censure of one anti-slavery champion in that clause became very apparent, which censure was wholly ungenerous, and unwarranted by anything that can be shown to have transpired in the entire history of the anti-slavery struggle.

Of course, no one denied that an emergency might arise when it would be legitimate in a meeting of colored citizens to criticise the anti-slavery position of either or both these champions of human rights; but who, upon reflection, would dare avow that one was to be lauded at the expense of the other, because, from an anti-slavery standpoint, they happen to take a different view of national affairs? It was in most indecent haste to make a public demonstration involving the names and position of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, in the face of a protest from them both. Here is what Mr. Garrison says in the *Liberator* of February 26th, 1864:—

"Mr. Phillips has less faith in the good intentions of President Lincoln than we have, and believes he is 'ready to sacrifice the honor and interest of the North to effect a sham peace.' We honor him for the manly avowal of his conviction; and none the less so because it places him in the minority, and subjects him to severe popular criticism. The honesty of his conviction is not to be impeached, while its soundness may be questioned without any personal feeling. *We are not willing to accept of any compliment at his expense.* In matters of opinion and comparison of views we sometimes differ from him; but in an uncompromising adherence to principle, we have always seen eye to eye. He must be true to himself, and he will be, at whatever cost. Those who repose more confidence in President Lincoln than he does find no justification for abusing him. The services he has rendered the cause of freedom, and indeed whatever is worthy of preservation in our country, for more than a quarter of a century, at great pecuniary cost through his munificent disposition and self-sacrificing spirit, and to the utter abandonment of all hope of political advancement, should ever shield him from bitter and disparaging criticism. However jealous he may be of the Government, it is not for a factious purpose, but solely to avert what he regards as impending danger to the cause of impartial liberty."

That this feeling is reciprocated by Mr. Phillips is shown by a private letter, from which I extract these sentences:—

"I should deeply regret that any resolutions or action on their part [the colored people] should utter praise of me in derogation of him, [Mr. Garrison,] so as to place us in antagonism. Entreat them to make no comments on present affairs in the Anti-Slavery Society. Don't let them embarrass or pain me by any such movement. Of course, I recognize their kind intentions, and am gratefully theirs and yours."

Whatever may be the motives of parties interested in the passage of this resolution, rest assured, if published in that shape, good men and women and the angels will weep, and Copperheads and the fiends in hell will clap their hands for joy.

One speaker, though favoring Mr. Phillips's view of public affairs, yet believed the meeting would accomplish its object by taking cognizance of principles rather than men; but the movers heeded no appeals of that kind—their line of action was determined upon, as was apparent by the course of one prominent speaker, whose animus it was extremely painful to witness, resorting as he did to such sources of inspiration as the "Lost Leader" article and Professor Newman's letter, commending their reading to the audience, and eulogizing a certain anti-slavery paper in this city as the one for the colored man, in preference to all others. A stranger, listening, would have supposed Mr. Garrison and the *Liberator* had suddenly changed base of operations from anti-slavery to pro-slavery. Incredible as it may appear to some, there have always been a few colored persons in the United States who could be betrayed into disparaging Mr. Garrison and the *Liberator*; but when the surprise recently manifested by some of the Union army at finding colored slaveholders at the South is remembered, perhaps the conclusion will be reached that colored and white are good and bad alike.

There is a combination of causes which for the past few years has operated against the gathering of a full meeting of the colored citizens of Boston. Many have removed into the suburbs, and many others have a growing aversion to so much that usually occurs in these gatherings that they can only be induced to attend when made aware of a pressing necessity. Hence what is sometimes the work of a faction is made to appear as receiving the approval of many who are in no way responsible for its doings.

Boston, July 25, 1864. W. C. N.

GRINDING THE FACE OF THE POOR.

The following military orders, published at Natchez shortly after the arrival in that city of a large number of negroes who had taken advantage of the Red River Expedition to escape from slavery, show the small amount of justice and mercy dealt out to them by our Government in Mississippi:—

GENERAL ORDER NO. 2.

"2d. From henceforth, all contraband negroes of Natchez are forbidden from the renting of houses, and living to themselves, but are required to secure legitimate employment with responsible, respectable persons, or otherwise be sent to the contraband encampment. Those hiring them are expected to aid in the enforcement of the foregoing regulations by the proper employment of them in their families or messes.

3d. As the congregation of so many negroes in one house with their filthy and lazy habits, (as the undersigned has found to be the case,) if continued, will eventually prove fatal to the health of the city.

All owners or renters of houses are forbidden the renting or sub-renting of the same to contraband negroes, under a penalty for so doing. Otherwise it will be impossible for the undersigned to carry out a system of Sanitary Regulations essential to the well-being of the city.

By order of A. W. KELLY,
Surgeon and Health Officer.

Official, A. RALSTON, *A. A. Gen. Post.*

Subsequently, on the 19th of March, another order was issued, of which the following is a copy. After a preamble charging idleness and profligacy on the freedmen, it proceeds thus:—

"To prevent these evil effects, it is *hereby ordered*, that after the first day of April, 1864, no contraband shall be allowed to remain in the city of Natchez, who is not employed by some *responsible white person* in some legitimate business, and who does not reside at the domicile of his or her employer; and no contraband will be allowed to hire any premises in the city for any purpose whatever, and no other person will be allowed to hire such premises for the purpose of evading this order, nor allowed to hire or harbor any contraband, who cannot satisfy the Health Officer that he or she needs the services of said contraband, in some legitimate employment. All contrabands remaining in this city in contravention of this order, after April 1st, will be removed to the contraband encampment.

The word contraband is hereby defined to mean all persons formerly slaves who are not now in the employ of their former owners.

Persons drawing rations from the *U. S. Government* are not supposed to need any *hired* servants. The number allowed to each family will be determined by the undersigned.

By order of A. W. KELLY,
Surgeon and Health Officer.

Approved: J. M. TUTTLE,
Brig. Gen. Com. Dist.

Would treatment so harsh and cruel to unfortunate refugees (who, from their position, are necessarily loyalists,) be commenced *and continued* if the President made known his wish to the contrary by giving decided and emphatic *commands* to the contrary?—C. K. W.

MR. LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

CHICAGO, July 26, 1864.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just read Prof. Newman's letter and your reply thereto, in the last number of the *Standard*; and as you state the case in respect of Mr. Lincoln's administration, I do not see how serious exception can be taken with your conclusions. But, sir, with profound deference for you personally, I think you are desperately wounding the great cause you have so much at heart by a too generous and confiding support of Mr. Lincoln, and I predict that you will concur with me not many months hence. I believe I have had far better opportunities to observe and know the sentiments of Mr. Lincoln on the subject of slavery and its cognates than you have, and I tell you that he is not now nor was he ever an anti-slavery man. He has all the inherited prejudices of the great body of the "poor white trash" of the South against the blacks; and I state what I believe to be the truth when I say that he is in the daily habit of speaking of the blacks with all the contempt and hatred that his easy nature is capable of. I could detail the circumstances and instances, but will not weary you. It is proper I should say that my information comes from others in whom I rely. Was not that animus disclosed in his interview with the committee of colored men from the District two years since, and in his Haytien colonization scheme? You evidently believe that Mr. Lincoln is intending to suppress the rebellion if he can, and to maintain his emancipation proclamation *bona fide*. Now, sir, I assert that he has no such settled purpose. I aver, and but for the padlock that seals the lips of gentlemen high in military service, I could prove,—and that seal by and by removed, it will be proven,—that Mr. Lincoln has had at least two agents waiting in Jeff Davis's ante-rooms from time to time for many months past for some favorable response to propositions of compromise, and that these agents have passed our lines, greatly to the disgust of loyal Generals, with the passport of the President.

I will not weary you with a tirade. I have no claim upon your attention other than that of an admirer of your well-spent life. I do not complain of your support of Mr. Lincoln. I think it possible that every patriot may at the ensuing election feel compelled to do so. But I cannot regard the possibility other than a dire alternative. O that they could hear your warning voice in that cabal of politicians that daily meets at the President's house, instead of the apologetic tones in your reply to Prof. Newman!

I cannot regard the Cleveland movement in a more favorable light than you do. Gen. Fremont is in bad hands. The people have to this moment been unrepresented in the Presidential conventions. Would God they might in this crisis arise in their might, and place a *man* in the Presidential chair!

I am, truly yours,
L. C. PAINE FREER.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

CHARLESTOWN, (Mass.,) July 25, 1864.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR—In your paper of July 1st, 1864, I find a sort of defence of Montgomery Blair as an anti-slavery man. It seems to me that if you would only take pains to read his speech delivered at Concord, New Hampshire, June, 1863, you would not be so ready to believe in his anti-slavery sentiments. In that speech he characterizes an abolitionist and a rebel at the South as being equal enemies of the country. Are you willing to accept this as true doctrine? It seems to me that in your new-born zeal for the perpetuation of this administration, you will do well to examine the past acts of such aristocratic hunkers as the Blairs before believing their asseverations. I find in my intercourse with my fellow-mechanics a universal dislike of the Blairs. I find in his letter to you, in speaking of Fremont, he says the position he (Fremont) has now taken proves he is ready to sacrifice the cause which he pretends prompted it to reach the real object of his zeal. The loyal people will be pleased to know what prompted Montgomery Blair to circulate a lying speech of his brother Frank, knowing it to be such, to damage the financial head of the government while still in office.

Now this Montgomery Blair, taking advantage of his official capacity at the head of the Post Office Department, circulates a lie through that department to gratify his spite towards Secretary Chase. For proof of this, see remarks of Senator Sprague and Congressman Higby of California in Congress.

I find a growing sentiment among the people to hold Abraham Lincoln accountable for keeping imbecile fogies around him, as witness Seward, Halleck & Co.

Respectfully yours, H.

For the Liberator.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE REBEL CONGRESS.

Have you read the Manifesto
Of the Rebel Congress—say?
A sort of mongrel, dying speech
Before the reck'ning day!

And sanction'd by their President,
The perjur'd traitor Chief,
And countersign'd and seal'd by Floyd,
The noted knave and thief!

'Twill be a precious document
To send to Kings and Queens—
I don't believe they'll need their spect's
To see just what it means.

The traitors must have form'd a poor
Opinion of mankind—
Must think that foreign rulers are
All stupid, deaf and blind.

No school-boy could be cozen'd by
Such barefaced, glaring lies:
It caps Munchausen—Beauregard
Can't beat it, if he tries!

In fact, it is concentrated,
Rank falsehood from the mint,
And ev'ry lying, traitor thief
May claim his portion in't.

But desperate, stupid they must be,
And blind as hangman Wise,
To think to gull the public mind
With such a batch of lies!

It shows their weak condition—'tis
The reckless gambler's stake,
Who plays false dice in forlorn hope,
The glitt'ring pile to rake.

But, oh! alas! Secessia—you
Have seen your brightest day;
"A morrow comes, but not for you"—
You will have passed away!

F. M. ADLINGTON.

Weymouth, July 26, 1864.

VETO.

To the People of Massachusetts:

The State Temperance Committee beg leave to address you in relation to the Veto of an Act for the better enforcement of the laws.

The facts of the case are briefly these. The Legislature instructed a Committee to "consider and report what are the obstacles to the enforcement of the Laws of the Commonwealth, in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors, and what additional legislation, if any, is needed to secure such enforcement."

It appeared from evidence before the Committee, that among other devices for protecting the traffic, and defeating the execution of the law, were these two, viz.:

1st. Selecting liquor-dealing jurors to try others for the same offence.

2d. Placing the cases against liquor dealers on file without sentence, or in other words, letting them go free when convicted.

Both of these obstacles were, of course, fatal to the enforcement of the law, and both were susceptible of a plain and practical remedy. Official records were laid before the Committee, showing that 551 of these cases were now on file in the Courts of the State, and the evidence in relation to jurors, especially in Boston, was equally conclusive.

With this evidence before them, the Committee reported a bill authorizing Courts to exclude such jurors, and making it their duty to see that sentence followed conviction. After passing both branches of the Legislature, the bill was returned by the Governor with objections to the first and third sections.

That part of the first section specially objected to was in these words:

"No person shall hereafter be placed on the jury list, or be allowed to serve as a juror, who is at the time engaged directly, or indirectly, in any unlawful business or occupation."

We make no issue upon the word "indirectly," which to the Governor seems dangerous, and which to us seems unimportant. In the two supposed cases which he presents, "Where a man lets a building to a broker who violates the usury laws," or where he lets it "to any person who is doing business not having taken out a license under the internal revenue laws," we see no reason to charge the lessor with being engaged in an illegal occupation, either directly or indirectly. A man is engaged in an occupation, or he is not engaged in it.

The word "indirectly" was therefore mere surplusage, without any legal effect, and might as well have been omitted. The use of a needless expletive could not, however, be seriously regarded as a proper ground for the veto of an important bill.

In addition to the word "indirectly," the Governor presents several objections to the first section of the bill.

1st. That it would cause great delay. That "in each case where a juror is excepted to, there will be a question of fact to be tried," that "ingenious counsel would find it easy to protract impaneling a jury," and that it might "cause at least twelve trials in the impanelment of every jury."

2d. That it would be likely to exclude honest and retain dishonest jurors, for "no juror can be compelled to answer where it might criminate himself," and "any man who is ready or likely to violate his duty, his conscience, and his oath, as a juryman, by rendering a verdict contrary to law, will, with much less hesitation, make such untrue answers and concealment of facts as to secure his continuance upon any panel where he has an interest to serve."

3d. That "a single judge may set aside any juryman whom he does not desire," and that it would thus "enable a venal or an unjust judge to pack juries and oppress the people."

4th. That it interferes with the theory of jury trials, "which requires that the selection of jury men shall be as far as possible independent of the Court."

5th. That it "would enable a party having no meritorious defence to embarrass and perplex, if not defeat the plaintiff, in a case of substantial merit, by a vexatious litigation of the right of every man called as a juror to sit in the cause."

6th. That it applies alike to the composition of a jury for the trial of civil causes between parties, and to a jury for the trial of persons accused of crime."

We ask you to look and see whether every one of these objections does not apply with quite as much force to the existing Statutes, as to the bill in question.

That you may have the existing law before you, we copy the 29th Section of the 132d Chapter of the General Statutes:—

"The Court shall, on motion of either party in a suit, examine on oath any person who is called as a juror therein, to know whether he is related to either party, or has any interest in the cause, or has expressed or formed any opinion, or is sensible of any bias or prejudice therein; and the party objecting to the juror may introduce any other competent evidence in support of the objection. If it appears to the Court that the juror does not stand indifferent in the cause, another shall be called and placed in his stead, for the trial of that cause."

Here is a much wider field for "a venal or an unjust judge." Such a judge would find it much easier to pack juries under the plea of "bias or prejudice," than under that of "unlawful occupation."

Nor does the objection, that it would cause delay, stand any better than the objection that it would cause corruption. Recollect that, under existing laws, the Courts have always been empowered to exclude jurors for any one of four different reasons, viz., first, for relationship; second, for interest; third, for expressing or forming an opinion; and fourth, for bias or prejudice. If the power to exclude jurors for unlawful occupation might cause twelve trials, the power to exclude them for the four above named reasons might cause forty-eight trials.

In the case of dishonest jurors when examined by the Court, they could lie with comparative safety about their "interest," their "opinion," or their bias, or prejudice, but they could not lie in relation to their occupation, without great risk of detection.

In regard to the exclusion of persons engaged in unlawful occupation from juries in the trial of civil as well as criminal cases, they are, or ought to be, excluded in both civil and criminal cases under our present laws. Their names cannot legally be placed on the jury list, without assuming that a man can be an habitual transgressor of the law, and still be a "person of good moral character, of sound judgment, and free from all legal exceptions." (Chap. 132, Sec. 6, General Statutes.)

We are not unwilling to accept as a test the very case which the Governor supposes would most alarm the people of the State, viz., that a judge, under the provisions of this bill, could exclude persons from the jury for liberating slaves. It would be safe to say, that judges could, with a fair show of law, exclude a hundred times as many men, for bias, or prejudice against slave-hunters, as they could for being engaged in the occupation of freeing slaves. The old, time-honored statutes are thus shown to be vastly more dangerous in this respect than the bill which the Governor refused to sign.

If the much greater powers, which courts have heretofore had, to exclude jurors, have caused no serious amount of corruption or delay, it is sufficiently conclusive that neither can be reasonably apprehended from the first section of the proposed bill.

To the third section of the bill the Governor makes these objections, viz.:

1st. To a "verbal error" in the engrossed bill.

2d. That it "seems to require judgment and sentence, even after a verdict of acquittal."

3d. That it "appears to apply only to courts where verdicts are rendered," and not to Trial justices and Police Courts.

In relation to the first objection, the "verbal error" charged was the omission of the word "or," in the engrossed bill. The printed bill was correct. Milder methods than the veto have usually been taken to correct the too frequent errors of engrossing clerks.

For the second objection, we fail to see any possible ground. The words are:—

"The district attorney, or other persons having charge of the prosecution thereof, shall not enter a *nolle prosequi*, lay the same on file, or otherwise dispose of the same, except by trial, judgment and sentence, unless in any case the purposes of justice require the same."

In case of acquittal, the jury and court "dispose" of the case. The district attorney neither "disposes" of it, nor does nor can do anything else which the bill forbids.

Our answer to the third objection is, that the evil exists in the courts where verdicts are rendered, and no where else. Where no obstacle was found, no remedy was needed. It would have been absurd to provide a legal remedy for an imaginary case, that neither existed nor was likely to exist.

If the above answers are entirely warranted by facts, nothing whatever remains of the objections to the third section, except the fact that the word "or" was omitted in the engrossed bill.

And in relation to the objection made to the first section, if it be true that courts have always had a much more extensive power of excluding jurors, and have exercised that power, not only with safety but with advantage to all the purposes of justice, then experience, the safest and most reliable of all guides, clearly shows that the multiform dangers apprehended by the Governor are wholly unreal and imaginary.

In the 551 cases to which we have referred, the law provides that prosecuting officers "shall not grant a continuance;" yet in the face of this provision, they had granted an indefinite continuance, under the practice of placing cases on file.

Under the provisions for selecting "good and lawful men as jurors," municipal officers were authorized to place upon the lists only the names of "persons of good moral character," yet they had designedly inserted the names of persons who were guilty of a constant violation of the law.

By these means criminals were protected from conviction by putting others guilty of the same offence upon the juries for their trial, or if convicted, they were permitted to escape by not having their cases called up for sentence. The bill gave no authority to judges, except to protect the administration of justice from these two abuses.

If the Governor could not arrest this corruption, it was at least in his power to bring it to the attention of the Legislature, and ask it to provide a remedy. He neither brings it to their attention, nor accepts the remedy they propose, nor utters a word in disapproval of the abuses it was intended to suppress.

It would be difficult to find any instance where abuses were more apparent, where the necessity for their removal was more imperative, where the remedy provided was more simple and direct, or where the remedy was more in accordance with the long-established provisions of existing laws.

While, therefore, in other respects, we give to the administration of the present executive our most hearty approval, we are compelled to regard this veto of the "Bill for the Better Enforcement of the Laws," as one out of many acts showing not only hostility to the law, for the enforcement of which the bill was intended to provide, but also a want of sympathy with any kind of effort for the suppression of intemperance.

For the pernicious influence of the executive, in this respect, both upon the body of the people and upon our officers and soldiers in the army, no soundness of political faith, and no eminence of talent or of patriotism, afford any adequate compensation.

The remedy is in the hands of the people, and to them we appeal. If they decide that the laws of the State prohibiting the liquor traffic shall be executed, "An Act for the Better Enforcement of the Laws," and an act establishing a State Police for the City of Boston, are in our judgments measures of indispensable necessity.

We therefore commend the whole subject to the careful and earnest attention of the people of the State, with a view to the adoption of such measures as may be necessary to provide these legal enactments.

A FREEDMEN'S VILLAGE.

On the road to Arlington, about a half mile from the House, is the freedmen's village that we got out to explore, and its magnitude requires more than a cursory glance. It was removed here less than a year ago, with about 80 colored men and women as a beginning; it now numbers about 1800, and is built up of two-story white frame houses, and laid out into parks or rows named after such men as Garrison, Lovejoy, etc. It has a large, airy school-house, where we found 350 children studying under the auspices of a male and three female teachers, all from Providence, and decidedly Providential looking. There sat their swarthy pupils singing for our behoof, and if ever 350 small voices sounded larger, it was not in my hearing. The principal said they were good children, quick, obedient and easily taught; and they had more merriment and apparent enjoyment in their faces than naturally belong to twice the number of fairer complexions. In the church and sewing-room we were highly interested. In the latter we found half a dozen Wheeler & Wilson's machines, being plied, not very skilfully, by field hands. This department was in charge of a brother and two sisters, also from Yankee land. In a conversation with the overseer, we learned that they were almost too happy here; so happy indeed that it was difficult to persuade them to take service with the families of Washington or thereabouts. So that a rule was enforced, insisting on none but women with households remaining in the village, that single colored girls must maintain themselves at service. A smaller, but in my mind a more prosperous affair of this kind is in Washington. It consists of about 100 families, to whom a kind gentleman has given the use of some unoccupied ground. There they have put up a cluster of huts, and support themselves without the aid of any society whatever, by their own honest earnings.—*Alta Cor.*

SHAME ON DELAWARE.

A Colored Minister Fined, Sold and Bought in the State of Delaware.

MR. EDITOR—How strange such a heading! How it exhibits the mighty death-struggle of the Slave Power! Rev. Thomas M. Kinnard, of the B. M. E. Church of Canada, delegate to the General Conference of the A. M. E. Church, revisited his birthplace of Delaware recently. While at Camden, he was arrested early in the morning, under one of the laws which disgrace the statute books of that State, prohibiting colored persons from entering it. *He was fined fifty dollars and costs.* Not having the money to pay, *he was sold*, and purchased by the brother of the man who emancipated him some years ago. This man then took brother Kinnard's due-bill for the amount he paid, and gave fifty dollars security that Rev. Mr. Kinnard would leave the State in five days.

Brother Kinnard came immediately to Washington to seek redress, bringing with him a transcript from the record of legal proceedings, duly certified, and copies of due-bill, etc.; also letters to Delaware Congressmen.

Being a British subject, and having Provincial papers to show that he was under her Majesty's protection, he immediately made the facts known to Right Hon. Lyons, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Great Britain, and his Lordship assured him that satisfaction should be sought. We are all interested in this case. It promises rich developments. Happily it occurred, as I think brother Kinnard is the last colored man they will arrest in the State of Dalaware for going there contrary to law. It was copperheadism that did it, the place where he was born being one of its nests.—*Corr. of Philad. Christian Recorder.*

THE RESCUE OF SEMMES. Captain Semmes having hauled down his flag, and asked his conqueror to rescue him and his drowning crew, was in law and honor a prisoner of war. Neither he nor one of his men could have been saved except by the Kearsarge; for the Deerhound acted, and could only act in the case by the consent and request, expressed or implied, of Commodore Winslow. The English yacht was there merely the agent of the American man-of-war. This agency was voluntary. The Deerhound was not compelled to pick up the men of the Alabama. But her captain must have understood perfectly, that if he did so, he did it for the Kearsarge. He must have known, that if the American had supposed he was intending to aid in the escape of his prisoners, his vessel would have been sunk in an instant.

Semmes and his men, when floating in the water, were our prisoners as truly as if they had stood on the deck of the Kearsarge. If their rescue had been effected, under the circumstances, by an English man-of-war, nobody can doubt that they would have been surrendered by our government into our hands. The captain of a private yacht can certainly have no higher rights on the seas than the commander of a national vessel. We trust that before this our minister, Mr. Adams, has made a formal demand upon the British government for the surrender of these men, and that the demand will be promptly acceded to.—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

HARVARD COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT. At the Harvard College Commencement, last week, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Reuben Atwater Chapman, of Massachusetts; William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, and Edward Laboulaye, of France.

The following received the degree of Master of Arts: William Phillips Tilden, of Boston; Fred. L. Olmstead, of California; James A. Page, of Boston; Hall T. Bigelow, of Cambridge; William M. Hunt, of Boston, and George N. Eaton, of Baltimore.

Amongst the graduates who received the degree of Bachelor of Arts was Robert Todd Lincoln, son of President Lincoln.

Edward Everett was selected to deliver the course of lectures on international law during the ensuing academical year, at the law school.

Mr. Everett made a very earnest and eloquent address in honor of the late Josiah Quincy, resolutions regarding whom were unanimously adopted.

WHAT THE ARMY THINKS OF THE RAID. All the recent letters from Gen. Grant's army speak of the disgust felt by the officers and soldiers at the success permitted to the rebel raiders in Maryland. A *Tribune* correspondent writes:

"I don't know whether I ought to allude to the mingled humiliation and derision felt and expressed by the army on account of the ecstacies of fright which jostled and shivered and upset all Maryland and all Pennsylvania, when some 12,000 rebels crossed the Potomac some ten days ago. At least four weeks ago, one of my letters contained the statement that nine decimated brigades of Ewell's old corps, numbering 1000 each, had marched to meet Hunter. Now, Gen. Grant has kept track of this force, knew that it did not follow Hunter, knew that it did turn down the Shenandoah Valley, and suspected it meant to rob stables and hen roosts in Maryland, and so apprised the authorities at Washington. This force of 10,000 men, with the addition of such roving bands as Mosby's and Imboden's, has been all of that mighty invading force that raised the teapot tempest."

☞ The Trustees of the Lovejoy Monument Association have proposed to the various institutions of learning in the State of Illinois, that a Lovejoy scholarship of $1000 be endowed in each of them for the education of colored youth, upon condition that such students be received to equal privileges and upon the same terms with white scholars. This proposal is made to all incorporated institutions of learning in the State, of whatever denominational character—whether for males or females; whether classical, scientific, legal, medical, theological, commercial, or agricultural. The funds thus raised are to be managed by the trustees of each institution, though the Monument Association is to have the oversight of the same, and the right to recall them in case of perversion or non-fulfilment of the condition. That is a noble plan. No doubt it would please Mr. Lovejoy more than to invest the same money in marble or brass. It will present a more enduring testimonial than any gorgeous pile over his grave. This is better than to establish a Lovejoy college for colored youth; for we already have too many institutions, and such a school would tend to perpetuate that spirit of caste which ought to be removed. This plan strikes at the spirit; it may do much for the elevation of the colored race. A monument is also to be erected over the grave. Those who prefer to give for this can do so.

TERRIBLE DEATH NEAR CLEVELAND—FOUR CHILDREN SMOTHERED TO DEATH IN AN OLD CHEST. The Cleveland *Leader* has the following account of the death of four children, by suffocation in an old chest. It says:

A terrible realization of the tale of Genevra, which Rogers has immortalized in verse, was discovered in the township of Newburg yesterday. On Wednesday afternoon last, a man named Schoger, living near the Buckeye House, (better known as Edward's Tavern) on Kinsman street road, left the house with his wife, to go into the field to work. Their four children, aged from four to ten years, remained at home. On returning to the house, the parents sought in vain for their children. Search was made around the premises, over the farm and through the woods, the whole neighborhood turning out to join in it, but without success. Yesterday morning, however, their own house was searched; and in it, in an old German chest, the children were found, smothered to death, their faces black from suffocation. In their play the children had got into the chest, and the lid falling and the spring catching, had been imprisoned in a living tomb.

☞ Mr. Long returned to his home in Cincinnati on Saturday last. Extensive arrangements had been made to give him a triumphant reception. Mr. George E. Pugh was expected to be the orator of the occasion. A large delegation from Butler County, the home of Vallandigham, was in the programme, to swell the multitude. All the martyrs that the Peace Democrats could rally were to be present. A series of resolutions was written, and a proper committee improvised to report them. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* summoned all the secession sympathizers to turn out, and welcome home their champion.

The hour—10 o'clock—came; and at eleven came the man. The procession, three omnibuses and six carriages, came also. The Butler delegation came not—neither did Mr. Pugh. Rev. George W. Maley, of the Church of the New Dispensation, was elected to preside, but could not be found; Mr. Martin was then chosen Chairman *pro tempore*, but hastily left the ground. Two other chairmen were appointed; but Mr. Maley's arrival set things right; and Mr. Hoefer, law partner to Mr. Long, now took all the proceedings under his supervision.

☞ One of the tory leaders,—Mr. Hennessey, who is an Irish Catholic, yet a tory, which is almost as whimsical a contradiction as if we were to call an American a Garrisonian slaveholder,—Mr. Hennessey, we say, lately brought the subject of Irish emigration before the British House of Commons, and asked for legislation to check it. Lord Palmerston, who is an Irish Viscount, replied to him in a short but most sensible speech, and no man can speak more sensibly to the point than the British Premier. He showed that Irishmen leave their country in the assured hope of bettering their condition, going to other countries where their abilities, their energies, and their industry are in demand, and certain to meet with proper rewards; and he added, that it would be cruel to attempt to prevent them from following their own course in a matter that so vitally concerns their own welfare.—*Boston Traveller.*

HARVARD ROLL OF HONOR. The latest number of the *Harvard Magazine* contains the Roll of Honor of graduates of the College who are and have been in the National service. The following is a summary of its figures:—

Rear Admiral, 1; Brigadier Generals, 7; Colonels 19; Lieut. Colonels, 14; Majors, 18; Captains, 60; Lieutenants, 73; Surgeons and Assistants, 61; Chaplains, 13; Privates 45; Quartermasters, 9; Staff Officers not mentioned above, 17; other positions, 124; total 461. Killed in battle or died of disease, 70. By last triennial catalogue, the whole number of graduates living was 2679, which shows a per centage of 20 per cent. in the army.

☞ Major Jonathan P. Cilley, of the 1st Maine Cavalry, who was severely wounded at the battle of Antietam, has again been wounded by a minie ball in his foot. Major Cilley is a son of Hon. Jonathan Cilley, who was killed in a duel at Washington, about twenty-seven years ago.

For some time, an army correspondent writes, many of our officers in front of Petersburg have been in the habit of creeping forward, and setting their watches by a large clock upon one of the church steeples. But on the fourth, a thirty-pounder shell was sent crushing through the face and the works within, completely knocking the clock "out of time."

☞ A letter-writer gives the following account of what our brave soldiers experience in a day's march in Virginia: "Dirt, dust, pulverization of earth into infinite smallities of concreted nastiness. Dirt, dust, soil, no longer soil, but ashes. Powder, worse than that of guns, worse than any prescribed by physicians. Dirt, dust, ashes, powder. Alluvium crushed, ground, pulverized and powdered. Fine dirt, knee deep to wade through. Impalpable dust, sky high to breathe. A hundred thousand shirts, uncomfortable as the shirt of Nessus. A hundred thousand skins, uncomfortable as the skin of Hazael after the leprosy of Naaman cleaved unto him. Dirt, dust, ashes, as we go marching on."

☞ The Wheeling *Intelligencer*, referring to the fact that the two Senators from West Virginia, Messrs. Van Winkle and Willey, voted against the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, says:

"In recording themselves as they did, Messrs. Van Winkle and Willey no more represented the people of West Virginia, than did those two implacable Copperheads, Riddle and Saulsbury, who voted the same way, represent the loyal majority in the State of Delaware."

GARIBALDI AND THE ENGLISH. The following brief statement which appears in a letter from Garibaldi, published in Turin, effectually disposes of the assertion so generally believed in England, that the late visit of the Italian Patriot was cut short at the instigation of interested political parties: "I withdrew when I saw fit to do so, without ceding to instigation of any kind."

☞ Though the freedom of the slave is one of the antipathies of those who are opposed to the Government, we find no objection made to recruiting State quotas from the slave States. Even Governor Seymour, who desires to be consistent by withdrawing all State action from such a connection, virtually admits that it is a good thing for counties and cities. The N. Y. *Express*, which is also willing to accept the black substitute for the white man, is vexed at the predicament, but consoles itself by "rolling over":—

"The world moves, and the *Express* moves with it. The negro is the axis now of this once white man's world, and the *Express* would be a blockhead if it did not roll over and roll round with it."

☞ A few days ago, a mob of four or five hundred Irish longshoremen in Chicago attacked a party of a dozen negro laborers working on a lumber dock, and compelled them to fly for their lives. What meanness and brutality!